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ABSTRACT

This study found indications of high percentages of dropouts among Chicago Puerto Ricans; their educational problems seemed similar to those of other Spanish-speaking pupils in the urban situation. The dropout count carried out revealed a rate of 71.2 percent for Puerto Rican pupils who had received a substantial portion of their education in the North American continent. Eighth graders, freshmen, and seniors still in school who were examined for motivations too, demonstrated that they had problems of self concept caused by discrimination, difficulty in relating to their parents, and a progressive estrangement of pupil from school. Schools were found to have very little influence in increasing the stay-in rate: they did little to improve student self image or cultural identity. Further, students' reading habits, commitment to doing homework, and future aspirations decreased the longer they stayed in school. Knowledge of English was greater among dropouts than among seniors staying in school; these seniors knew more Spanish than dropouts. All groups lacked courses in Puerto Rican culture, and 80 percent of them desired such courses. Families played no role in the running of schools, nor were there many spanish teachers in the schools. Both these factors when present and operant were proven to substantially reduce the dropout rate. (Author/RJ)

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FINAL REPORT

Project No. 0-E-108

Grant No. OEG-5-70-0037 (509)

PUERTO RICAN DROPOUTS IN CHICAGO: NUMBERS AND MOTIVATIONS.

Isidro Lucas, Ph.D.
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211 W. Wacker Drive
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March 1971

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AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT

There were indications of large percentages of dropouts among Chicago Puerto Ricans. Their educational problems seemed similar to those of other Spanish-speaking pupils in urban situation.

A new dropout count was carried out, as well as a research into motivations, through dropout interviews and related questionnaires given to 8th graders, freshmen and seniors still in school.

The total dropout rate was found to be 71.2%, for Puerto Rican pupils who had received a substantial part of their education in the continent.

Motivations included self-identity problems caused by discrimination, difficulty in relating to parents (and lack of high values of education in the home) and a progressive estrangement of the pupil from the school. Schools were found to have very little influence in increasing the staying-in rate: they did little to improve the student self-image or cultural identity.

Students' future aspirations, reading habits and commitment to doing homework decreased the longer they stayed in school.

Knowledge of English was greater among dropouts than among seniors. Seniors knew more Spanish than dropouts. All groups lacked courses in Puerto Rican culture and 80% of them wanted them.

Families played no role in the running of schools, nor there were Spanish-teachers frequent in them. Both were proven, when present, to substantially reduce the dropout rate.

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PREFACE

From the beginning, this research project was a common endeavor. The idea first was suggested by community leaders among Chicago Puerto Ricans, particularly by the Conferencia Puertorriqueña, which assumed moral leadership for the study. Mr. Israel Noboa, President, and Rev. Rubén Cruz, Vice-President, joined Mrs. Mirta Ramírez in suggestions and encouragement.

In carrying out the project, we have to express our cordial thanks to the many officials of the Board of Education, City of Chicago, who were most helpful to the investigators and contributed their knowledge, experience and advice to the study. Most particularly, Dr. Edmund B. Daly, District 6 Superintendent, and the Principals of the various schools involved deserve our gratitude.

Many colleagues offered their support, advice and suggestions for technical aspects of the project: particularly Dr. Paul Schindler, Northern Illinois University; Mr. William McCready, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle Campus; Dr. Dorothy Binder, St. Xavier College, Chicago; Dr. Muriel M. Abbott of Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, New York; Mr. Samuel Betances, Harvard University's School of Education; and so many others. To all, our thanks.

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico's Migration Division Office in Chicago, through its Director, Mr. Luis Machado, also offered advice and contributed office space and office services as needed.

It is not customary to list in these acknowledgements the work of so-called non-professional workers in the research project. In this case, however, we have to mention the three people who performed many project tasks. They were im no way mere helpers, but rather co-workers in the planning, direction and carrying out of the study: undergraduate students Miss Dora García, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Mr. José López, Loyola University, Chicago; and Mr. José Vélez, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle Campus. This report is as much theirs as it is mine.

More people have been involved in the study, far too many for even a passing acknowledgement here. To all of them, our sincere gratitude.

SUMMARY

There are over 26,000 Puerto Rican pupils in the Chicago public schools. They represent a 4.5% of the total student population. (The Spanish-speaking in general in the city are 9.7% of the pupils in the school system, 56,374).

There were indications that the dropout rate among Chicago Puerto Ricans is high. A working definition of a dropout was established according to directives of the U.S. Office of Education.

A new count was devised for a statistical sampling of students discontinuing school. Class-types were chosen and over 40% of their members were followed through till graduation or dropping out.

It was found that the current dropout rate for Puerto Ricans in Chicago is 71.2% of starting classes.

In search for motivations to drop out, questionnaires were prepared for dropouts, and then adapted to 8th graders, freshmen and seniors still in school.

Besides basic identifying questions, the main areas explored were attitudes about themselves, their families, their friends and school, in an effort to ascertain how these elements related to their staying in or dropping out of school.

The study was carried out by persons in the community, as it had grown out of this community's desires and aspirations. It provides an insider's view of the dropout problem as seen by the students or the dropouts themselves with the motivations that cause them to drop out. This personal contact was made closer with in-depth interviews and case-histories carried out with some of the dropouts that responded to the questionnaire.

Having established that there is a substantial majority of Puerto Rican students who never finish high school in Chicago, the study concentrated in defining more the sociological causes that affect most students, than individual psychological peculiarities that may cause some pupils to drop out.

Three areas of motivations were found to be relevant in this context:

The Chicago Puerto Rican youth

Many youngsters present problems in self-identity. Acutely aware of society's discrimination against them, based on race concepts, the experience does not find in them a previous frame of reference. It clashes with their cultural traditions of self-worth and individual dignity.

Youths then react often passively by decreasing their aspirations (aspiration levels in education decrease the longer the student stays in school) or by turning their attention to activities other than school. Those who are most intelligent or who have best leadership qualities take a more defiant attitude that may lead to violent political action or other forms of violence.

Often the youngsters channel their defiance into activities unaccepted by society, like gangs or drugs.

The youth and the family

A high level of lack of communication was found between parents and children. Values placed on education in the family may be high but they are not effective in staying power. Parents have low levels of education and the great majority never graduated from high school themselves.

Families are large, but this does not seem to affect the dropout rate among Puerto Ricans. Families are stable as a rule, but where they are disrupted by the migration process the dropout rate tends to increase. There is little dialog between parents and children about school or educational aspirations. Mothers exert more influence on their children than do fathers.

Marriage is a factor for dropping out only with girls. As a rule, they marry young. Many of them express desire to have had more sex education in school.

Families move often, causing children to transfer from school to school.

The youth and the schools

In general, schools were not found to be geared to Puerto Rican students.

Students held back one or two years are more likely to drop out. About one-third of all Puerto Rican students are overage by their freshman year. This figure is higher

today than it was six years ago.

Students do not involve themselves in the school process: they do little homework, less of it the more they stay in school. They do not participate in extra-curricular activities in large numbers. (In both cases more seniors than dropouts involve themselves in the school process.).

Outside-of-school reading habits are high among these students.

Most Puerto Ricans do not have in school any one teacher in particular they relate to. When they do, their chances to stay increase. Twice as many seniors than drop-outs were found to have had Spanish teachers, (Puerto Rican or other nationality).

The confidence they have in their knowledge of English is higher among dropouts than among seniors. Being assigned to a Basic English course multiplies by four the chances to drop out. Knowledge of Spanish relates positively to staying power.

Most students want Puerto Rican History taught in their schools. At present a little under half of them get to study this subject.

Very few Puerto Ricans were enrolled in any one of the various types of work-study programs offered by Chicago public schools. Those that were, were half as likely to drop out.

Schools have little communication with parents, and the latter's role in the running of the school is minimal. Schools have no staff to adequately involve the parents in the school process.

A series of recommendations is being made, directly aimed at reducing the overall dropout rate of Chicago Puerto Ricans.

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States have been and are one of the most neglected minorities. Some studies have been made of their characteristics and problems, but they have concentrated on New York where the largest population is located. Most of them have been made by outsiders to the community.

A search for documentation through ERIC's Research in Education yields almost nothing substantial. The lack of data on Puerto Ricans (as well as on other Spanish-speaking groups) is not limited to education. Even Census figures do not seem reliable. In 1970, Spanish-speaking community relations specialists were used by the Bureau of the Census in Dallas, Los Angeles, Denver and New York, but not in Chicago. Yet, here in Chicago, there is an estimate of over 500,000 Spanish-speaking people in the area covered by the Chicago Office of the Census.

The few data available on the educational problems of the Chicago Puerto Ricans gave us reason to believe the dropout rate among them is very high. The Coleman Report stated in 1966:

> At ages 16 and 17, when dropping out of schools first occurs in large numbers, youths who were Puerto Ricans, of Spanish descent in the Southwest, American Indian, Negro or foreign-born, in that order, were most likely to be out of school.[1]

Complementary data and other studies pointed in the same direction, but were fragmentary and totally insufficient. The Havighurst Report[2] studied educational problems of minority students in the Chicago Public School system, but never mentioned those of the Puerto Rican dropouts.

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1 J.S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, U.S. Printing Office, 1966, I, p. 449.

2 Robert J. Havighurst, The Public Schools of Chicago, Board of Education, 1964. See pp. 220, 206, 385-387.

Richard J. Margolis conducted in 1968 a study of Puerto Rican dropouts, commissioned by Aspira, Inc., a Puerto Rican agency dedicated to increasing the number of Puerto Rican students who enroll in College. He ventured a guess of 60% as the current dropout rate.[1]

In Chicago, some indications of a high dropout rate among Puerto Ricans could be found in the general enrollment figures from the head-count conducted by the Board in the schools, September 1970.[2]

There were 21,580 Puerto Ricans in grammar school, and 4,596 (21.29%) in high school. Figures for Black students are similar in percentages. White pupils in grammar school were 139,355; 60,314 (43,48%) in high school. Since there are 9 grades in grammar school, and 4 in high school, a perfect correlation would be 44.44%. Clearly, many Puerto Ricans who were in grammar school are not continuing on to high school. (We found later there is not a sizeable difference in migrating volumes of the past 8-10 years. Most of the students, both freshmen and seniors, started school about the same grade, kindergarten or first).

When administering the questionnaires of the project, investigators contacted 798 freshmen and 237 seniors in the same schools and times. That is an attrition rate of 71.4%.

All these clues pointed to a high dropout rate among Chicago Puerto Ricans. A more accurate measurement of this rate was the primary purpose of the study.

It would be idle to insist on the economic and sociological implications of dropping out: scarcity of unskilled jobs, society's rejection, reduction of the individual's self-respect, have all been pointed out by previous researchers.

An unusually high dropout rate in a whole community will also impair its progress. It will result in decreasing the capability of this ethnic group to occupy a relevant position in society at large. Opportunities for further education and the creation of leaders will be greatly diminished (Mr. Margolis suggests there are only 60 college graduates among the 100,000 Puerto Ricans in Chicago; most of them, with Puerto Rico degrees).

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1 Richard J. Margolis, The Losers: A Report on Puerto Ricans and the Public Schools, Aspira, New York, 1968.

2. Board of Education, City of Chicago, Student Racial Survey, October 7, 1970, p. 1.

The second purpose of this research project has all the more relevance in this context. Why do Puerto Ricans drop out of school? Is it a financial or a language problem and to what extent? Studying the motivations for dropping out is the first step to the search for remedies to the situation.

This study will provide a basic set of data both on numbers and motivations. It will in fact amount to a look at the overall educational situation of Puerto Rican youth, as it measures its success on the basis of the primary aim of any educational system: the retention of its enrollees up to and including graduation.

In Chicago there is a large population of Spanish-speaking people. Puerto Ricans represent only a fraction of the total. Chicago's situation in this respect seems unique. New York has mostly Puerto Ricans and the Southwest mostly Mexican-Americans. Here there are large populations of both, as well as Cubans and other Latin-Americans.

Results of our study can be generalized in Chicago to Mexican-Americans and other Spanish-speaking. And in other areas of the mainland, to urban populations of the Spanish-speaking. In the past they have been lumped together into a whole homogeneous group, without regard for their cultural and national distinguishing characteristics that should be emphasized. But they share to a great extent the same educational problems. This study chose the Puerto Rican population basically for logistic reasons.

An important aspect of this study is that it consisted mainly in leading members of the community to do the actual research. The resulting report is one from the inside of this community. If it can be at times subjective, it will gain from this inside view reliability of data, and avoid the resentment present among Puerto Rican youths against outsiders coming to their community to study it.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

The project sought two different kinds of data: collection of figures in enrollment in and withdrawal from schools, to ascertain the objective numbers involved, and a study of attitudes and their correlation to the dropout process. This duality required different methods.

Numbers

There are available scattered data on dropout numbers. The Chicago School Board requires reporting by the schools on withdrawals.

The Board's Bureau of Research, Development and Special Projects has published dropout figures in its High School Dropout Report, 1960-1961 to 1968-1969. (See figure 1) As it summarizes the withdrawal causes, it takes into account a series of "reasons for withdrawal", classified into "voluntary" and "involuntary". Only the former are added to produce the "dropout" figures. This arrangement of reasons is according to the Report "sponsored by the United States Office of Education": we have not been able to ascertain how this sponsorship was established.

The present study found the data of this Dropout Report insufficient for its purposes for the following observations:

a) There is no break-down into ethnic or minority figures. Dropout rates vary with social and economic diversity.

b) The classification into "voluntary" and "involuntary" reasons, as reproduced in figure 1 (p.13) is misleading and obscures the problem: here is why:

1. Continuation schools, and Social Adjustment schools are involuntary only to a given extent. Transfers into them often mean discontinuation of formal education.

2. Transfers outside of the city -to Puerto Rico- are requested by many Puerto Rican youths who drop out. Inquiries, pressures to return or other follow-ups are thus avoided.

3. In students whose whereabouts are unknown, it

Figure 1

List of reasons from the School Board's High School Monthly Student Withdrawal Report forms.

INVOLUNTARY WITHDRAWALS
-REASONS-

1a. TRANSFERRED TO OTHER DAY PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE CITY
Does not include Continuation Schools. Social Adjustment Schools transfers are reported under Reason 9

1b. TRANSFERRED TO OTHER DAY NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE CITY
Does not include evening schools or business colleges; such voluntary withdrawals are entered under Reason 16

2. TRANSFERRED TO DAY SCHOOL OUTSIDE CITY, STATE, COUNTRY
Includes students who transferred even though it is not certain which school will be attended.

3. LEFT SCHOOL AND WHEREABOUTS ARE UNKNOWN
Includes students whose past school records would seem to indicate that they would be attending a school

4. EXCUSED FROM SCHOOL TEMPORARILY DUE TO PHYSICAL DISABILITY.
Includes pregnancy and cases certified by physician.

5. EXCUSED OR EXCLUDED DUE TO MENTAL RETARDATION
Must be certified by child study report

7. DECEASED

8. TRANSFERRED TO CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS - I. Y. C., (Illinois Youth Commission), etc.
Applies in cases where school adjustment was satisfactory and the difficulty occurred outside school hours. List transfers to Social Adjustment Schools under reason 9.

9. OTHER REASONS FOR INVOLUNTARY WITHDRAWAL NOT INCLUDED ABOVE
A._____
B._____

TOTAL INVOLUNTARY REASONS.

Figure 1 (continued)

VOLUNTARY WITHDRAWALS
-REASONS-

3a.	LEFT SCHOOL AND WHEREABOUTS ARE UNKNOWN Includes students who, in the judgment of the school based on past records, would probably <u>not</u> be enrolled in a school.
10.	LEFT SCHOOL TO ENTER VERIFIED EMPLOYMENT.
11.	LEFT SCHOOL BECAUSE NEEDED AT HOME Includes students whose services are needed at home due to illness, death, care of younger children or other reasons.
12.	LEFT SCHOOL BECAUSE OF ENLISTMENT IN THE ARMED FORCES Does not include drafted students who are listed under Reason 9 for involuntary withdrawals.
13.	LEFT SCHOOL BECAUSE OF MARRIAGE. Must be verified by marriage certificate.
14.	LEFT SCHOOL BECAUSE OF LACK OF INTEREST OR POOR SCHOLARSHIP (<u>NOT EMPLOYED OR NEEDED AT HOME</u>) Includes truants and overage students where applicable.
15.	LEFT SCHOOL BECAUSE OF INABILITY TO ADJUST Includes students with maladjustments other than lack of interest and failure in studies.
16.	OTHER REASONS FOR VOLUNTARY WITHDRAWALS NOT LISTED ABOVE A._____ B._____
	TOTAL VOLUNTARY REASONS

would be too subjective a judgment to decide where to place a student. It would require a close contact of counselor and student.

4. Pregnancy, in so far as it precludes continuing school, has characteristics of voluntary withdrawal.

5. It is unusual to detect mental retardation in high school. Among Puerto Ricans there are many reports of pupils referred to mentally retarded classes because of language difficulties in testing.

8. Too often transfers to correctional institutions mean dropping out of chances to getting a diploma. Those institutions may not keep the students long enough, and their return to regular schools is unlikely upon release.

The addition of voluntary reasons gives the figures of dropouts. The value of these data is indicative but the Report itself (p.20) suggests that the different headings demand a closer look into the real motivations for dropping out, beyond "lack of interest", "poor scholarship and "entering employment due to financial need".

c) In the whole a Data Report like this cannot by its very nature include a study of subjective motivations. And it tends to assume blame on the part of the student. When the school does not work for the student (in his judgment), regardless of the objective causes involved, the approach to the solution has to be different.

In the School Board, there is another source for withdrawal data: the Urban Youth Program, of the Bureau of Pupil Personnel Services, requires from the schools and keeps on its files a card for each student withdrawn from school, for follow-up purposes. The present research project saw the value of such files, but could not gain access to them.

This study approached the search for numbers through statistical sampling, choosing the three high schools in the city with the largest percentages of Puerto Rican pupils: Murray F. Tuley and William H. Wells in District 6, Area C, and Robert A. Waller, in District 7, Area C. The sample was thus about 40% of the estimated total of Puerto Rican pupils city-wide.

In these schools the files were checked for the classes of 1968 and 1969:

The Division lists -home rooms- provided the names for all Puerto Rican freshmen in 1964 and 1965 as compiled by the teachers at the time.

These names were compared with graduation lists in 1968 and 1969.

Missing students' names were checked in the school's general student files. Thus reasons for non-graduation were found, to glean out transfers to other schools. Finally, spot cross-checking of these transfers were carried out to ascertain how many of these pupils had actually graduated from another school.

The remaining names were listed as dropouts, except those deceased or otherwise listed as justifiably absent from the schooling process.

Motivations

The problem here was the objectivization into statistically meaningful data of a subjective set of reasons for dropping out. General sociological patterns had to be taken into consideration as well. The project developped its own set of questionnaires defining the relevant areas in heuristic stages.

a) Informal conversations with educators and community leaders as well as social and youth workers provided general motivational areas worth further exploration.

b) Along these lines, an Exploratory Questionnaire was developed (Appendix A), that was nothing but a memory help for the interviewers to informally explore the most-often-given reasons for dropping out. There were 20 of these questionnaires given to actual dropouts. The results were impossible to report statistically, as most of the questions were open-ended.

This first step also served to acquaint the research staff with the subject of the study, and to train in interviewing and other social research techniques.

c) Data were thus obtained to construct the basic

Checkout Questionnaire (LS) for dropouts. (The name was a simple coded form for "Left School" that would avoid the label "dropout" while still providing identification). (Appendix B).

In putting this questionnaire together, previous studies were also consulted, for instance Cervantes' The Dropout: Causes and Cures, the Coleman Report, and Zeller's Lowering the Odds on Student Dropouts as well as others listed too in our Bibliography.

This questionnaire was given to 140 Puerto Rican Dropouts, under 23 years of age. This administration of questionnaires was the hardest part of the total project. Locating and tracking down the youths took most of the time, as well as creating an atmosphere of trust that would provide reliable answers. Only by the fact that there were Puerto Rican students of both sexes working in the study, and cooperation was given by other community forces, the undertaking itself was made possible.

Subjects for interviewing were located through various sources: listings of dropouts taken from school records; youths attending some manner of public program like Neighborhood Youth Corps, Project B.U.I.L.D., etc.; dropouts holding a regular job in industry or business; youths in community programs, Boys Clubs, YMCA; gangs or similar organizations; relatives or acquaintances of the staff; door to door canvassing; Audy (Correction) Home; etc. Most of the interviews took place at home; others at the place of work or cooperating agency.

d) Question 49 of the Checkout Questionnaire, "would you like to help us further by answering more questions some other time?", opened the door for the next step: out of the "yes"questions so obtained, and with the provided addresses, 25-27 subjects were chosen at random for in-depth interviews that could produce case histories to accommddate the type of information and examples that could not appear in statistical analysis.

For this phase no set instrument was created. Narratives of the case were kept and will be occasionally referred to in this study by number.

e) The Basic Checkout Questionnaire (LS) was adapted to three different levels; 8th grade students (Appendix C), freshmen (Appendix D) and Seniors in high school (Appendix E).

These instruments would provide the investigators

with insights into the attitude changes during school. Seniors could be considered also as a control group for comparison with the Dropouts. The likelihood of their dropping out was almost none, as questionnaires were given in the second semester of their last year.

In discussion with the Principals of the schools, it was felt the questionnaires should be given to the entire classes, to avoid feelings of discrimination. The necessary modifications were introduced for this purpose, and question 4, "Where are your parents from", provided easy sorting out of answers pertinent to the study.

(The wealth of information thus gathered by accident has not been used in this study. It will be made available to the schools, the Board of Education and other scholars.)

f) Finally a last instrument developed relies heavily on Dr. Zeller's researches: the Professionals Questionnaire (Appendix F) which was administered to 40 educators, youth and community workers, to provide some insights into the problems from a different viewpoint.

Here is a summary of the statistical scope of the questionnaires:

Questionnaire	Puerto Ricans	Others
Exploratory	20	-
LS (Dropouts) (Case histories 25)	140	-
8th graders	185	80
Freshmen	798	942
Seniors	237	579
Professionals	4	36

Definition of a dropout

In reviewing the bibliography on the subject and discussing the problem with school officials, the definition of the word dropout often presented problems. It is important because it can determine numbers-result to a great extent and is vital for studying motivations.

This research project adopted a working definition and based its findings on it:

A Puerto Rican dropout is a young person who having received a substantial part of his/her education in the continent has stopped attending school without obtaining a high school diploma, for any reason except death.

It is basically the definition given by the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.[1] It has been modified to specify the population under study and to limit it to those students who attend school in the continent. There are youths who attended school in the Island, dropped out to come to the continent and never enrolled here. Their problems are real, but beyond the resources of this study.

This definition has not taken into account an age cut-off. It can be objected that Chicago public schools will accept for re-admission any pupil up to 21 years of age, so therefore no one can be considered a dropout before that age. Also there are people who may obtain their high school diplomas later through the G.E.D. or similar equivalency programs.

These objections were not thought to warrant a change in the definition for the following reasons:

The researchers' experience in dealing with Puerto Rican dropouts suggests that the number of them who take advantage of opportunities outside regular high school is minimal and statistically insignificant.

Difficulties in obtaining data for this type of situation are almost unsurmountable.

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1 U.S. Office of Education, Pupil Accounting for Local and State School Systems, publication OE-23-025, 1964; p. 96.

The study of those students who do not obtain their diploma through regular schooling is relevant in itself and as it relates to programming and planning educational components. To this purpose, whether or not the student comes back as an adult is irrelevant.

This research project concentrated on subjective reasons for dropping out. It rightfully addresses itself to any young person who -in his mind, for good- has stopped school and discontinued education, regardless of whether later a change of mind may take place.

In practice this study concentrated on young persons under 23, because in older ranges there are more people who left school in the Island.

CHAPTER III

NUMBERS

The Chicago Board of Education's Racial Surveys started listing separately pupils of Puerto Rican descent in 1968. Here are the figures provided: [1]

	1968	1969	1970
Grammar Schools	20,035	20,714	21,580
High Schools	4,017	4,227	4,596
Total	24,052	24,941	26,176

There is some stability in terms of total population numbers. The slight increase in 1970 could be accounted for by a better head-count (for the first time Mexican-Americans are specifically noted), or by the closing of some Catholic grammar schools and high schools.

In terms of percentages, there is a slight increasing trend: Puerto Ricans represent 4.1%, 4.3% and 4.5% of the total population in school. In 1970 the total Spanish-speaking population of the Chicago Public Schools was 9.7% of the total (56,374 pupils).

To these figures, enrollments in Catholic schools should be added. In 1969, there were 2,758 Puerto Rican pupils in such schools. The trend in them is downwards, and some close every year. This study does not take into consideration pupils in Catholic or other private schools. It was attempted, but logistic reasons made it impossible.

The search for dropout numbers in the school records provided the data shown in figure 2.

---

1 Board of Education, City of Chicago, Student Racial Surveys, September 20, 1968, September 26, 1969 and October 7, 1970.

Figure 2

Freshmen, graduated students and percentages of dropouts

School	Freshmen 1964	Freshmen 1965	Graduated Original School	Graduated Other	DROPOUT %
Tuley	171		79	5	56.8
		276	117	9	54.3
Waller	160		49	7	65.0
		138	47	5	62.4
Wells	153		55	9	57.7
		131	48	4	60.4
Subtotals	484	545	395	39	
TOTALS	1,029		434		58.7

According to these data, there are 58.7% of pupils who dropped out but attended some high school.

To them must be added those who never attended high school. There are not official figures for grammar school dropouts: since they are under age, they cannot officially discontinue school, and are carried in statistics seldom: it is chronic truancy. In fact, they are not planning to return.

This study tried to gather data on these pupils from the questionnaires.

8th graders were asked: "Do you know young people your age who dropped out of school?", and 68.2% responded yes. The phenomenon seemed quite widespread.

When Freshmen were given a similar question three affirmative answers were suggested. Of the total of 78.4% who answered they knew people their age who dropped out, 20.0% said they had done so in grammar school, 24.4% between grammar and high school (graduated from 8th grade, never registered as freshmen), and for 34.0% most of their acquaintances had dropped out of high school.

The dropout sample indicated when they had stopped attending school: 6,9% in grammar school, and 13.0% between grammar and high school, for a total of 19.8% of the dropouts who never attended high school.

Still another indication of the grammar school dropout rate was provided by the Professionals: asked when Puerto Rican pupils drop out, 5.0% answered in grammar school, and 10.5% between grammar and high school.

Combining these data, extrapolating the dropouts' answers and allowing some slant to their sample (the cut-off age of 23 was arbitrary, and the average was around 18) we obtain a percentage of 12.5% of Puerto Rican pupils that drop out in grammar school (instead of the 13.5% the sample actually suggests).

The total dropout figure -grammar and high school- for Chicago Puerto Ricans is 71.2%.

This is a very high figure compared with the national average of about 35%. It is also high compared with figures for the Chicago Public School system. The Board gives a percentage of 10.0% for 1968-1969, and slightly lower for 1967-1968 and 1965-1967, (yearly figures). This means Puerto Ricans in Chicago drop out at a rate of 200-210%

the national average, and about 180% of the Chicago city average.

These figures offer a new light to consider the problem as an endemic condition of the Puerto Rican pupil population, rather than an individual psychological anomaly. In other words, any study of dropouts among Puerto Ricans has to be as sociological in nature as it is educational."What made this youngster drop out" turns then into "what is there in Puerto Ricans that are so prone to drop out from continental schools".

One more comparison of figures between Chicago Puerto Ricans and those in the Island. There is a complete study of pupil retention by the schools in the Island up to 1959.[1] In the year 1958-59 the dropout rate there was 82.19%. From previous years we are given a yearly decrease of 1.03% in this dropout rate, without regard to any substantial changes in the educational conditions. This would give a rate of 71.99% of dropouts for 1968-1969. If we consider that there have been substantial improvements in the schooling situation of Puerto Rico (notably the 1963 legislation establishing free transportation for pupils in rural areas), the present dropout rate is decidedly lower.

It is an almost certainty then that the Chicago Puerto Rican has a poorer chance to finish high school in the city than he had in the Island.

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1 Consejo Superior de Enseñanza, La deserción escolar en Puerto Rico, s/d, (1963?), Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras.

CHAPTER IV

MOTIVATIONS

A number of reasons for dropping out were assumed from the beginning of the study, and they came classified into general areas by previous dropout studies. Others were found to be relevant in the course of the research. Since the dropout rate among Puerto Ricans was found to be so high, at times a description of special characteristics of this group is in itself an explanation for their dropping out, the stay-ins being an exception to the rule.

General areas of motivations are established, by examining elements of the individual, family and school characteristics. Often direct causality cannot be proven, but comparison between dropouts and stay-ins allows for assumptions. The field remains open for studying specific relevance of particular programs or special attitudes to the general dropout pattern.

1. The young Puerto Rican

An acute self-identity crisis appears prevalent among Chicago Puerto Rican youths.

The dropout questionnaire probed frankly and untactfully this area. Knowing the negative connotation that the term dropout has, asking the sample what group drops out most was tantamount to asking them for each group's place in American society.

71.3% of the dropout sample stated that more Puerto Ricans than whites drop out. 22.1% said, about the same, and 5.9% fewer (One of the case stories -no. 16- explains he answered fewer "because I thought Americans were taking the survey, and I am tired of their putting us Puerto Ricans down").

58.9% responded Puerto Ricans drop out "about the same as Blacks"; 34.0%, less; 17.1%, more Puerto Ricans than Blacks drop out.

These answers -even discounting defensive ones or those in which the "expected" answer is passively given out- point out to the difficulty for the Puerto Rican youth to find or accept his role in American society. The common denominator is the acknowledgment of a position of inferiority, as a second-class citizen, below the majority of Americans.

There is also an attempt to bolster this image by placing Puerto Ricans above Blacks.

This demeaning concept of themselves as Puerto Ricans is also brought up in case histories. It was frequent to hear phrases like "Puerto Ricans are alright in the Island, but here they do nothing" (no. 7); the "majority don't care to better themselves" (no. 2) and even the bitter "Puerto Ricans? Half of them are 'hicks'" (no. 3).

Puerto Rican youths in this study show the effects of having been exposed to discrimination on the basis of the American race concept. (Professor Betances, in a yet-to-be published paper, defines the ways in which race in the Island does not have the social implications that it does in the continental United States). Their reaction is more acute because it is a new experience. This study will later show that it is a reaction different from that of the parents and will be a factor for the gap between first and second generation migrants.

The fact that there is awareness and knowledge of societal inferiority does not mean there is acceptance of this inferiority as a fact. All the tradition of social relationships of Puerto Ricans in the Island includes strong elements of personal self-worth and individual dignity (showed in the demand for respeto, recognition of one's dignity by himself and others).

The contrast between these two sets of values, self-respect and consciousness of being considered inferior, impairs basically the balanced acquisition of self-identity values among Puerto Rican youngsters. Distended between these two poles, he/she may be subject to a form of social and even psychological schizophrenia.

This is manifested and fostered by a ghetto mentality. Puerto Ricans are confined even physically to their own neighborhoods, which they do not control. Police, schools, business and public services are provided by non-Puerto Ricans. Non-Puerto Ricans also hold any positions of leadership of high status. In interviewing, the researchers found youths who were born in the city and had never visited the Loop (Downtown), only 20-25 blocks East of the barrio.

This crisis of self-identity, with its striking constrasts, was made clear by answers given to questions on phrases taken from the Coleman Report that used them nation-wide.[1] They can be found in figure 3.

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1 Coleman Report, I, p. 23.

Figure 3

Percent of students having certain attitudes (answers "true" or "yes" to stated questions).

Question asked	Coleman nationwide	Chicago samples % 8th graders	freshmen	seniors
"I just cannot learn"	37	13.4	14.4	7.9
"I'd do better if the teacher didn't go so fast"	31	70.9	63.4	62.8
"Luck more important than work"	19	15.5	16.3	12.3
"People like me don't have much of a chance"	19		19.5	17.3
"When I try, somebody or something stops me"	30	40.7	39.7	27.5
Are you brighter than most people?	37	18.4	21.0	36.6

These figures show the ambivalence of the attitudes of Chicago Puerto Ricans. While more confident in themselves than the national average for Puerto Ricans reported by Coleman ("I just cannot learn", "luck more important than work") they seem to trust their own brightness substantially less than the same national sample.

There is an increase in confidence in successful students in every question (seniors).

Puerto Rican students in Chicago show a larger amount of defensiveness than the national average: they blame teachers or "somebody or something" for their lack of success in greater percent than their counterpart, and even more than the national sample of white "majority" students (24%).

It is important, to see these figures in the proper perspective, that most of the subjects sampled were either born in Chicago or had lived in the city more than 10 years -65.9% of the dropouts, 60.0% of the seniors, 60.3% of the freshmen, 65.6% of the 8th graders. Their identity problems were not created by the physical impact of migration. It is difficult to ascertain when and how these youths come into contact with discrimination and how these feelings develop. Some insights will be provided later in analizing the family and school situations.

Thus establishing the pattern of self-identity problems, its manifestations are twofold: lack or decrease of aspirations, and defiance of society by escape into socially unacceptable peer groups.

Level of aspirations and its relationship with dropping out were measured by asking about reasons for dropping out. Two complementary questions were asked of dropouts, and the second was also given to the seniors-controls. Answers can be found in figure 4.

When asked about themselves, dropouts adopt the acceptable answer,"need to work." Still, in their answers "personal reasons" is already heavy, and so is the no-answer line.

General questions are more reliable. Grouping all the answers that are neither specific nor concrete, the percent that show lack of interest or indifference to the schooling process directly or by implication is as high as 71.2%. (Note the high percent of "no answer" or "you have no idea").

Figure 4

Percent of reasons advanced for dropping out by dropouts and seniors.

WHICH OF THESE STATEMENTS BEST REFLECTS YOUR REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL?

I "was eased out" of school	12.1
I quit to go to work	34.3
School was too hard	6.3
I got married	8.6
I left for personal reasons	26.4
My parents took me out	2.9
(No answer)	9.3

NOT TALKING ABOUT YOU NOW: WOULD YOU SAY MOST PUERTO RICANS WHO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL DO SO BECAUSE

	Dropouts	Seniors
they are kicked out	6.4	3.0
they need money	12.1	5.9
they "have problems"	26.4	19.0
they are bored	3.6	.4
they want to work	7.9	.8
they are lazy	2.9	4.6
they get married	1.4	1.3
for personal reasons	5.0	13.5
lack of interest	10.0	12.2
you have no idea	24.3	13.9
(no answer)		25.3

That this lack of interest or aspirations is related to self-identity problems was brought to light by answers to in-depth interviews. Repeatedly interviwees (cases nos. 2, 7, 8 and others) indicate that a high school diploma would not alter their chances for self-improvement. "I am doing the same thing that my friends that graduated do" (case no. 16).

When seniors were asked -if they seriously thought about dropping out- why they stayed in, most of the reasons were around better jobs, more earning power.

Puerto Rican pupils often curtail their aspirations and this shows in lack of interest for the schooling process. One of the case histories (no. 8) is a case in point: he dropped out because "he cut too much". He cut classes "because I couldn't get up in the mornings. I am lazy". And yet, the same subject had been working for two years at the same job that he took when he dropped out, and his seriousness and responsibility in it had earned him several promotions.

Aspirations seem to decrease as the student keeps attending school. The Coleman Report asked 12th graders if they planned to finish College. Puerto Ricans nationwide answered yes in 43% of the cases. 45% had read a College catalog. (Only 26% planned to definitely attend college next year).

Samples in this project were asked, "Do you plan to attend College?". 8th graders answered yes in 67.0% of the cases; freshmen in 53.5%; seniors, 55.3% (41.8% had applied to College).

This decrease in aspirations would appear greater still if it is assumed that students who reach senior year had started with higher aspirations, and the dropouts were more likely to be those who didn't plan to attend College in the first place.

Still the level of aspirations of the Chicago Puerto Ricans is higher than that for this same group nationwide.

Other aspects of levels of aspirations will be sonsidered in relationship with family and school.

This study found a high level of defensiveness in the subjects interviewed. 44.0% of the dropout sample did not agree to answer further questions as requested in question 49. It also showed in the tendency to provide "accepted" answers to some questions, and to assign blame for failures.

-30-

There was also strong evidence of defiance. In the questionnaires therewas refusal to answer, intentionally misleading responses and frank expressions of disgust at the total process.

An important manifestation of the defiant attitude of the Puerto Rican youngster is the allegiance to peer groups society disapproves of: gangs.

The students could not be asked directly if they belonged to a gang. Besides self-incriminating, such a question would have been naive. Some indirect questions, however, produced information on the subject, and on peer relationships in general.

Puerto Rican youths are gregarious. 59.3% of the 8th graders, 59.9% of the freshmen, 58.1% of the seniors and 64.4% of the dropouts responded they had in school "many friends". With a slight increase, as the schooling process advances, there is a difference between dropouts and seniors: the latter need less reliance on the peer group.

When asked "who has the most influence on you outside of school", samples confirm this finding: 6.4% of the grammar school, 16.3% of freshmen, 19.3% of the seniors and 21.7% of the dropouts chose "friend". There is a sharp increase in reliance on the peer groups from grammar to high school that reflects the more impersonal atmosphere of the latter. And this reliance tends to steer the student away from school.

The dropouts answering this same question assigned a large degree of influence to "other" (15.5%, vs. 3.5% for 8th graders, 4.4% for freshmen and 6.6% for seniors). Is this an indication of growing gang influence, or perhaps dating and "going steady"patterns?

Membership in gangs could be expressed in answering questions on whether they belonged to any organized group outside of school. Puerto Ricans do not seem to be joiners: 67.2% of the 8th graders answer "no", as do 77.8% of the freshmen, 74.2% of the seniors and 60.0% of the dropouts. Here too the ability and interest in joining a group is a factor leading to dropping out.

To this same question, "other youth groups" was a possible answer. 10.0% of 8th graders, 8.9% of the freshmen, 12.4% of the seniors and 14.8% of the dropouts chose it. Did they include in this their membership in gangs? Many did, and indicated so in written-in answers. But it is unlikely that that interpretation was general, as subjects were aware of the "unacceptability" of gangs and this was an "establishment" questionnaire.

Questions trying to measure the relationship between having friends in or out of school and staying-in gave inconclusive answers. 79.5% of 8th graders, 78.7% of freshmen and 78.1% of seniors stated their friends were for the most part in school. Dropouts said 19.3% of their friends were out of school and 16.5% in school. 57.9% had friends in and out of school.

Still, the bulk of statistical evidence points out that peer group influence tends to be away from school, and there are indications of gang pressure to drop out.

This pressure is not direct force. 73.7% of our professional respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement "they are forced out by the gangs" as reason for withdrawal. We found one case (no. 3).

The pattern is more an increasing attraction the parasocietal group (gang) exercizes on the pupil, and consequent demands on his time. Case histories show this trend.

The student, who is indifferent to the school and has personal problems of self-identity, accepts easily invitations to "cut" and "hang out" with the group. Repeated, this leads to dropping out of school altogether.

With this, another type of youth gets involved in gangs: the natural leader. In interviews, often the investigator remarked on the subject: "unusually intelligent", "very articulate". These youths join in and create gangs as active form of protest, a rejection of the alienating structures. Their attitudes will bring them into conflict with the law (cases nos. 21 and 22). But in cases when this intelligence and leadership ability can be oriented, their impact in the community is outstanding. (Case history no. 22: a young man, founder of one of the best known gangs, seeking identity first in the black movement, then in a political revolutionary ideology for Puerto Ricans, finally as youth worker with a social agency).

There are many gangs in Puerto Rican neighborhoods. A catalog of their names and activities fell beyond the scope of this study.

Gangs and gang-like groups often clash with the law: brawls, gang wars, etc.

The most frequent occasion for breaking the law is the use of drugs. Again the question could not be asked directly, but in-depth interviews mentioned drugs as a serious problem very often (cases nos. 3, 16, 21, 22, 24). (In a particular case -no. 3- that was the reason given by parents to withdraw a girl from school).

Drugs attract young Puerto Ricans to a large extent because they are illegal. The most brilliant of the youngsters turn to them as an escape from a depressing ghetto world. Drugs "for kicks" do not motivate them, except in cases of group-induced tryouts.

Defiance of the established society is also reason for the big attraction that political organizations of a revolutionary flavor exert on the younger community: Young Lords, LADO (Latin American Defense Organization).

Male and female dropouts

The Puerto Rico study on dropouts found that 61 boys for every 39 girls leave school.[1] This project showed the proportion to be 54.4% boys and 45.6% girls. This was confirmed by the reverse datum that 43.8% of the seniors were boys and 56.2% were girls.

Interpretation of this larger female staying-in rate can be multiple: the so-called submissive nature of Puerto Rican (Spanish) girls, that allows them to stand better the school pressures, --why then aren't they even more submissive and stay home with their mothers?; Also the stronger desire in boys to make money. We have no data to confirm either of these assumptions.

The fact is important nevertheless for economic reasons. Males who would normally have to be the wage-earners are less educated than females.

Financial reasons for dropping out.

As shown in figure 4, 34.3% of the dropouts stated they did so for financial reasons. About others, they say financial reasons are a cause in 20% of the cases (they dropped out "to go to work" plus "they need money"). Seniors gave a total of 6.7% for the same answers.

Financial reasons have been accepted as causes[2] for

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1 Op. cit., p.164

2.O'Neill, J., "High School Dropouts", Education, November 1963.

dropping out. Professionals in the sample agreed.

Among Puerto Ricans the problem is more cogent when it is remembered that they, with other Spanish-speaking populations, are at the bottom of the economic ladder in the whole country.[1]

Probing these facts, pupils were asked "Do you think your parents will have enough money for you to finish high school?". 22.8% of 8th graders said no as well as 19.3% of the freshmen. (Their non-Puerto Rican classmates answered no in 17.3% of 8th graders and 8.3% freshmen). This high percent indicates finances are a concern for many youngsters and many are not aware of their rights to free education. (Some non-Puerto Ricans added to their yes answer the written-in comment "of course").

However, financial conditions are not the main cause for dropping out. Students do not take advantage of working opportunities while in school.

43.9% of the seniors stated they had no employment while in school, vs. 66.2% of the dropouts. 30.3% of the seniors and 20.8% of the dropouts worked less than 20 hours per week, and 21.9% of seniors and 9.2% of the dropouts worked between 20 and 40 hours per week. Numbers of those who worked full-time are alike for both groups.

Holding a job part-time while in school is a predictor of success. Claims of having dropped out "to go to work" are thus further disproved. And results of question 35 to dropouts, listing financial options which could have retained them in school, confirm these findings.

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1 Bureau of the Census, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States" Current Population Reports. Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 213, February 1971

2. Puerto Rican youth and the family

Puerto Rican families in Chicago are large. The mean number of children of the families of dropouts was 7.25. Similar data are obtained from the other populations questioned. This large family size does not show to be a factor in staying-in or dropping out, among Puerto Ricans. Compared with populations at large it might prove to be influencial as it modifies and decreases the level of financial security.

The Puerto Rico study also concluded family size was irrelevant to dropout rate. It pointed out that crowded living conditions, on the other hand, do affect the chances of dropping out. The present study did not probe this factor per se, but the researchers received the impression it is valid among Chicago Puerto Ricans.

The family of the pupil is an important element in his school success, as it provides basic values about education, and so pressures him to stay or drop.

In this context, educational level of the parents is relevant. The mothers had achieved a complete high school education in 11.2% of the eighth graders, 11.2% of the freshmen, 10.3% of the seniors and 6.1% of the dropouts. (no mother of a dropout had finished College, although 1.5% had attended some).

These findings agree with those in the Island, in relating mother's education to school success. Chicago mothers have had more education than those in the Island, and seem to be making progress.

In the structure of the Puerto Rican family the role of the mother cannot be overemphasized. When asked who has most influence in them outside of school, 8th graders chose "mother" in 54.9% of the cases; freshmen in 41.9%; seniors in 44.8% and dropouts 33.3%. (These figures already pointed out a relationship between closer family ties and staying power).

As for the fathers' education the picture is similar: 18.6% of 8th graders' fathers had a high school diploma; 19.4% of freshmen; 14.9% of seniors and 8.5% of dropouts. The father is not as influential on the pupils as the mother (in no case he was given more than 20.0% of choices), but he is an important factor in the educational aspirations of the family. No dropout father had a college degree, although 2.3% had attended some.

A surprising feature of family educational levels is the large percent of "I don't know" answers given to questions about the parents' educational achievement.

Figure 5

Percent of "don't know" answers to questions about parents educational levels.

	8th graders	freshmen	seniors	dropouts
mother	31.0	23.5	13.6	10.8
father	45.3	27.4	21.7	18.0

An explanation of numbers in figure 5 could be a defensive move in the part of students, who do not want to demean their parents by stating they are uneducated. In that case "don't know" answers can be interpreted as "less than a high school diploma" answers.

But the most likely explanation is that the student does not really know: the subject has not come up for discussion in the family. This is confirmed by the fact that more pupils do not know about their fathers, and that among dropouts the figures are lower: the impact of the withdrawal has provided the occasion to discuss the subject.

Education does not seem an important issue around the family table. Communication within the family is not as it should be. There seems to be a lack of communication between parents and children, confirmed by other findings.

Girls know more about their parents' education than boys, about 33.0% on the average. There was an assumption that parents' educational achievements would have more effect on girls than boys. Data did not support it.

A commonly accepted cause for withdrawal from school is the general family structure. Calling "normal" the family situation where both parents are home, normal family structures were found for 66.3% of the 8th graders, 67.4% of the freshmen, 70.3% of the seniors and 58.2% of the dropouts.

Family structure of normalcy was thus found to play a role in the dropout rate when more dropouts than stayins reported a not-normal family situation. But the differences do not warrant assigning to this factor too prevalent a role. And these findings agree basically with those of the Puerto Rico study.

The percent of "not-normal" family situation among Chicago Puerto Ricans are a little higher than those in the Island and they range between 33.7% and 41.8%. The difference is so small, however, that it can be stated that Chicago families represent a stable population, not affected at present by the mechanics of the migration process.

It was found that 5.2% of the dropouts vs. 1.3% of the seniors had both parents in Puerto Rico, and 9.7% of the dropouts and 5.2% of the seniors had only mother at home while the father was in the Island. Within an overall pattern of family stability, those pupils with one or two parents in Puerto Rico are at least twice as likely to drop out of school.

To further analyze the presence of dialog between parents and children and its relation to schooling, seniors and dropouts were asked "do you (or did you) discuss school with your parents (while you were attending)?".

Dropouts answered "never" in 28.9% of the cases and seniors in 12.3%. The ability and willingness to bring up the subject of school at home makes a substantial difference in the outcome.

But in both cases there is very little dialog about the school inside the family. Only 24.6% of the seniors and 16.3% of dropouts talked "often" with their parents about school.

These data point to a phenomenon the researchers had observed before[1] and was confirmed by case histories.

There is a profound division between parents and children among Puerto Ricans in Chicago. The generation gap often mentioned in America today is far wider wmong Puerto Ricans.

Reasons for this? Parents are first generation immigrants and as such they are often a satisfied group. Their migration has bettered their financial condition from that they had in the Island and this offsets feelings of rejection by society or discrimination. Among dropouts in closer interviews the subject of limitation of horizons in the part of the parents comes up often: "they do not want to better themselves" (case no. 2); they want only "what they need to survive" (case no. 3), etc.

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1 Cfr. Lucas, I., The Spanish-speaking population of Aurora, Illinois, a mimeographed report for the Target Committee for Head Start, 1965.

Besides, when parents experience discrimination they have an easier escape: they think of the Island, picturing it in its most attractive colors and consider it their true home where they'll return soon. Researchers visiting parents found some who had permanent homes and jobs and still considered their stay in Chicago only temporary (there is considerable difference between this group and European migrants who settled in this country and were here to win or break).

This does not mean that most parents do return (although there is a group that does, mostly in times of economic slump in the continent). The important thing is that they often do not struggle enough for recognition in adverse environments nor attempt often to become a part of their new society at large.

Children second generation migrants lack this escape and face a psychological as well as a sociological impasse. Many simply discount their parents as factors in their own plans or future. (Some, however, accept their views: case no. 17 stated he "would return to school only in Puerto Rico but never in Chicago". He was born here).

The depth of the malaise between parents and children is further compounded by the fact that in the Island family ties (included extended family) were far closer and parents' authority stronger. Neither parents know how to cope with their children's unexplainable rebellion, nor children with their parents' hopeless conformism and lack of drive.

Other manifestations of this generation gap will be studied as children's knowledge of English and parents' involvement in the school are studied.

When asked what their parents' reaction to their leaving school was, dropouts gave the following answers: 56.6% "they left it up to you" and 4.7% "they didn't care". Of those parents who took a more directive approach, only 17.1% "went to school to keep you there". The family influence to change the decision to drop out was minimal. At times, it was directly negative: 7.8% of the parents "took you out themselves".

Still another measure of family relationships among Chicago Puerto Ricans was obtained by the slanted question "was there anybody in your family you didn't get along with at all". 11.2% of dropouts answered "father". This is a large figure, although the overall picture is more encouraging: 70.1% said "none".

In this particular area there is a marked difference between male and female dropouts. No male reported "mother" as the person they didn't get along with, whereas females mentioned her in 11.5% of the cases. There was also a larger

group of females that did not relate to their fathers.

The explanation is that family ties feel more strained in areas of traditional values among Puerto Ricans. The position of the woman in the family is very different among them from that among Americans at large. Disagreements are bound to occur here more often. This strain also shows in the fact that almost three times as many girls (12.3%) than boys (4.2%) were taken out of school by the parents.

A final element of relationship between family values on education and success in school was obtained in answers to the question "how many of your older brothers and sisters finished high school": 42.7% of dropouts vs. 25.8% of seniors answered "none".

Answer 4 to this question ("I do not have any" older brothers and sisters) can be interpreted as a sign that first-borns are more likely to finish high school (22.3% seniors gave this answer and 14.5% dropouts). If this interpretation is correct it is a hopeful trend that will modify stay-in patterns, increasing percentages.

The picture that emerges from all these data is that finishing high school is not an accepted value among Puerto Rican families in Chicago and that they are not consequently positively influencing youngsters to stay in school. Variances in this value system affect the chances of a pupil to stay.

Another family feature considered was mobility in the Puerto Rican population. It is accepted commonly that excessive school transfers decrease chances of finishing school.[1]

There were indications of unusually high mobility rate among Puerto Ricans in Chicago. Asked how many schools they had attended in the city, 8th graders answered in 16.9% of the cases they had attended one. 15.2% had attended more than five. The mean was 3.14. Freshmen answered "one" in 7.5% of the cases, and over five in 14.4%, with a mean of 3.52.

To verify these figures, files of 7th and 8th graders at Von Humboldt grammar school were checked (a total of 285 Puerto Rican students). The average was 3.15. Those who had attended only one school had started in the later grades; there were figures as high as 8, 9 and 10 schools attended.

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1 Cfr. O'Neill, op. cit.

Family moves and consequent transfers often occur in circles: leaving Von Humboldt for one or two other schools, the pupil returned to Von Humboldt. In several cases more than one of these "circles" were completed.

Mobility this high seems to be associated with low income. Housing accomodations were unsatisfactory from the beginning and the family continues to move searching better ones. (In exceptional cases family will do so to shake loose creditors).

Another explanation characteristic to Puerto Rican families lies in the mechanics of the migration process as it combines with extended family patterns. Families may receive and house relatives who just arrived; housing may prove too cramped. When these relatives move out on their own, the larger quarters are no longer necessary and a new move to smaller accomodations occurs. The pattern may be repeated.

Tracking down these families or their youngsters is difficult. As they are not familiar with mail-forwarding procedures, often they are lost to any researcher. As the investigators for this report experienced, any list of subjects more than 6 months old is often useless.

Family atmosphere plays an important role in the way students or dropouts look to creating their own families through marriage. Relationship between marriage and dropping out was explored by asking dropouts "when did you get married". Answers are given in figure 6.

Figure 6

Marriage as a factor for dropping out.
Answers to the question "Did you get married..."

	All dropouts	Male	Female
Right after you quit school?	6.1	--	13.3
Immediately before (that's why you quit)?	3.8	--	8.3
Some time later, after leaving?	16.0	5.6	28.3
You are still single	74.0	94.4	50.0

Marriage is a factor in the dropout of the girls but does not affect at all the boys. The element of pregnancy and its relationship to marriage and dropping out is interesting, but this study did not explore it.

Puerto Rican girls marry at an early age. The dropout sample of this study presented an average age of under 18, and 50.0% of them were already married.

Case histories gave some indications of girls marrying to escape an unpleasant home environment. This was often the case when the family included a step-father.

Sex education could play an important role in modifying these marriage patterns. 64.9% of the dropouts questioned stated their schools did not offer sex education classes. Girls would have wanted such classes twice as often as boys (33.3% vs. 17.6%).

3. Puerto Rican youth and the schools

From a practical viewpoint of finding remedies to a high dropout rate among Puerto Ricans, an examination of the schools they attend and their feelings towards them is the most important part of this study.

It is difficult to change attitudes of society at large or economic and psychological family situations. Schools provide an opportunity for change and betterment particularly in the case of Puerto Ricans and other minorities.

> Schools differ... in the degree of impact they have on the various racial and ethnic groups. The average white student's achievement is less affected by the strength or weakness of his school's facilities, curricula and teachers than is the average minority pupil's. To put it another way, the achievement of minority pupils depends more on the schools they attend than does the achievement of majority pupils.[1]

This statement is true of Chicago Puerto Ricans. About 69.5% of all the subjects interviewed in this study had started the schooling process in the city before 2nd grade. They have had a substantial exposure to city schools. Those who came in late are a small minority, and those who never attended school in Chicago are not subjects of this report.

On the light of this dependency and exposure, the quality of the schools Puerto Rican pupils attend gains relevance. This study examined two factors for an indication of school quality: age of school buildings, and per pupil expenditures.[2]

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1 Coleman Report, I, p. 21.

2 Cfr. Board of Education, City of Chicago, Selected School Characteristics (School-by school Basis), 1969-1970. Cfr. also the study on Per Pupil Staffing Expenditures prepared by R.A.Berk, R.W.Mack and J.L.McKnight, of Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs, March 1971.

Schools studied in this report have very old buildings: Von Humboldt grammar school was built in 1885, Lake View high school in 1898, Waller high schoolin 1901, Tuley high school in 1918 (a new building is planned), Wells high school in 1935, Wicker Park grammar school in 1961.

Per-pupil staff expenditures in Chicago in 1969-1970 was an average of $406 in the elementary schools (with an average of $423 for "white" elementary schools). It was $344 for Von Humboldt and $349 for Wicker Park grammar schools.

At the high school level we lack the average per-pupil staff expenditures for Chicago city-wide. Tuley had $475, Wells $504, Lake View $523 and Waller $529. Of the 47 general high schools of the city, three showed a lower figure than Tuley (and they were in Black areas); 17 had a larger figure than Waller.

Figures for Puerto Rican-attended schools have been increased with U.S. Government-funded positions (Title I ESEA and similar). Withouth these additions the disparity would be greater: funds of the Board are channeled to other schools than Puerto Rican-attended.

Data on schools have to be considered when an analysis of school roles in the dropout process is undertaken.

Dropping out occurs according to this study's findings in the early stages of high school: 29.8% of the dropout sample left during freshmen year, 29.8% while sophomores. 13.1% dropped out in junior year and 6.1% as seniors. (That leaves those who left <u>in</u> or <u>right after</u> grammar school).

Finishing high school is not an accepted pattern in the Puerto Rican community as it is grammar school. It is clear also that few drop out when achieving the goal of a diploma is within reach in the senior year.

Transition between grammar and high school and adaptation to the latter is too great a strain for many pupils, and it is not offset by the attraction of a diploma too far away after four years. Students who felt uncomfortable in school drop out.

Age of the pupil is a factor in dropping out. Many leaders in the community had complained in the past that Puerto Rican youngsters are held back too often.

The sample of seniors provided a mean age of slightly under 18, with 79.6% at 18 or younger. Only 4.3% were 20. Most of the graduating group never lost any year.

The dropout sample answered they had lost at least one year in 52.2% of the cases, almost half of them "because I failed". 10.4% of the total had missed two or more years.

Being held back one or more years is an important factor in dropping out, because of the humiliating aspects of it. More males (57.5%) than females (45.9%) had been held back. In the case histories the problem was expressed best when asked if they planned to return to school: "he wouldn't because he would be embarrased at the fact that the students he was with when he dropped would be ahead (case no. 8)".

A large percentage of Puerto Ricans are older than they should for their grades. 32.0% of the 8th graders and 32.3% of the freshmen are older (in 1970-1971).

And this is a phenomenon on the increase. Lists for the school years of 1964 1nd 1965 show that then freshmen were above their age in 25.42% of the cases. Considering the policy prevalent today of promoting a pupil into high school no matter his achievement at age 15 the real held-back figures may be even higher.

High school is a big hurdle for Puerto Ricans. 82.9% of the dropout sample evaluated their grades in grammar school as good or average. Only 54.2% of the same sample indicated their grades in high school were similar or better.

Case histories exemplify the trauma of entering high school. They insist in defining a good teacher as someone "who is interested in you", "that helps you when you don't understand", "that worries about you". With the one-teacher all-day structure of grammar school the anonymity of the large impersonal educational institutions is somewhat lessened.

Attitudes of pupils about school in general were explored by questions borrowed from Zeller's works, about fairness of grades and discipline.[1] Figure 7 shows the results. (p. 45).

These data offer no striking features. They are understood better if one bears in mind that the subjects consider more their responsibility the grades they receive than the discipline they are subjected to. Given the low coefficient of self-confidence they tend to accept the grading system. But their defensiveness shows in disputing the school system of discipline.

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1 Zeller, R., I Quit? A Report of the Survey of Illinois Student Dropouts, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction State of Illinois, 1967, Appendix II.

Figure 7

Attitudes towards school grading and discipline
(percentages)

"How would you describe the grading system in your school?"	8th graders	freshmen	seniors	dropouts
Fair (just)	63.9	67.7	65.1	74.2
Unfair (unjust)	10.0	15.5	19.4	12.1
"How would you describe discipline in your school?"				
Fair (just)	52.3	59.1	51.5	60.7
Unfair (unjust)	9.8	14.0	14.7	14.1

The overall pattern is one of indifference towards school. School is irrelevant to their decision to stay in or drop out.

This indifference is stressed by answers to questions about the pupil's share in commitment to the educational process: homework.

8th graders spent in homework "more than three hours" in 12.9% of the cases, freshmen in 7.6%, seniors 9.5% and dropouts 1.5%. The Coleman Report gave 23% for similar answers in the majority and 21% for Puerto Ricans nationwide.

Clearly, involvement in school through homework is a substantial predictor of school success. This is confirmed too by those who answer they give to homework "no time at all": 17.2% dropouts vs. 6.1% seniors.

Homework as something necessary to succeed in school is a truism. Before accepting "never did homework" as the reason for failure, reasons for not doing it have to be ascertained. And in any case, the fact is that Puerto Ricans in Chicago do less homework at every level than not only "whites" but even Puerto Ricans nationwide.

Figures also show a decline in overall commitment to school assignments inversely proportional to their stay in school. A pattern of progressive alienation of the Puerto Ricans from the schooling process starts to emerge.

The Coleman Report mentioned a surprisingly higher rate of out-of-school readings among minority students than that for their majority counterpart.

Reading habits among Puerto Ricans compare favorably with those reported by Coleman. The question "how many books have you read this year outside of school" yields a mean for 8th graders of 2.90, 2.88 for freshmen and 2.82 for seniors. These figures cannot be mathematically compared with dropouts' because the question was phrased differently.

Dropouts were asked "did you read a lot while you were in school" and suggested answers included papers, comics and books. Only 24.2% responded "no", he didn't "read a lot". (Only 9.3% of the respondents stated tbey read newspapers, providing yet another insight into their isolation from society at large).

There is a slight decrease of readings in the higher grades. The tone is one of high reading habits. This suggests an independence of the student's aspirations and drive for a better education and school commitment. Is this another indication of the overall alienation between Puerto Rican youth and school?

Extracurricular activities in school provide a measure of involvement in the school process. Samples were asked if they participated in these activities. Freshmen responded yes in 31.7% of the cases; seniors in 43.4% and dropouts in 28.7%.

The amount of participation in these activities is then a predictor for success in school. The level of participation in freshmen is similar to that of dropouts -many freshmen will not become seniors. Although Puerto Rican youngsters do not seem to be joiners, their level of participation in school activities is low. Part-time work would not explain this lack of participation, as it has been established that more seniors than dropouts work outside school hours.

Involvement of student in the school situation was further explored with the question "do you (or did you) ask questions in class when you do not (did not) understand"? Suggested answers were:

1.- always
2.- often
3.- sometimes
4.- hardly ever
5.- never.

Responses aren't conclusive. There is an increase in ability to ask questions from 8th graders to freshmen and from them to seniors, with dropouts lower than freshmen and seniors. The means of the answers were 3.039 for eighth graders, freshmen 2.880, seniors 2.658 and dropouts 2.970 in the above scale.

The trend is stressed when ignoring the sometimes as no-answers, as they provide a way out to the student who wants to skip the question without much thought. (Steady decrease in "sometimes" answers, mostly with dropouts, can be attributed to differences in administering the questionnaires. Pupils were given them in class, dropouts personally).

Relationships of pupils and schools were then explored along three main lines: school staff, curriculum, and parent-school contacts.

Students and school staff

The ability to relate to the teachers was expected to be a major factor in staying or dropping out. In the impersonal large school situation this relation could be best expressed if the pupil could single out one or two teachers he related best to. The hypothesis was suggested by graduated students.

To the question "what teachers do (did) you relate best in school", freshmen answer "one or two" in 41.3% of the cases, seniors in 41.5% and dropouts 33.3%. Answering "none" were 10.1% freshmen, 9.0% seniors and 19.3% dropouts.

Ability and willingness to relate to teachers is an important predictor of school success. The fewer the individual contacts the pupil has with one or two teachers,

the more likely he is to become a dropout. The more positive "no relation" with teachers, the more chances to drop out.

The uncommitted answer "well with everyone" was chosen by a large number of respondents at every level. 48.6% of freshmen, 48.7% seniors and 45.9% dropouts. These figures are indicative of an atmosphere of alienation prevalent among pupils with respect to school and reinforced in dropouts.

Answers to questions about the school staff in general support this interpretation. Subjects were asked "whom do you relate best to in the school staff?" and were given a choice of the different types of personnel in school. 11.0% freshmen , 17.3% of seniors and 16.5% dropouts chose "none at all" for their answer. Among positive answers, 5.1% freshmen, 4.5% seniors and 6.0 dropouts related best to non-professional staff members.

52.6% of freshmen relate best to classroom teachers, as well as 58.2% of the seniors and 45.1% of the dropouts. Teachers exercise the most influence in students. When relations fail, students try other school staff, and also drop out.

Relevance of teachers to pupils is enhanced by the chance they provide to strengthen self-identity in the students as they give them a high-status image to identify with. This role is all the more important for Puerto Rican students who have difficulty seeing this image in their parents. So the presence of common background and nationality between students and teachers was the subject of a question.

8th graders had had at least one Spanish (Puerto Rican or other Spanish nationality) teacher in 47.7% of the cases, freshmen in 60.1% and dropouts in 32.5%. Having teachers of Spanish descent was thus found to be a strong indicator of success in school. Almost twice as many seniors than dropouts had had such a teacher.

From answers by the non-Puerto Rican classmates of the samples we have reason to believe these figures may be somewhat slanted. They could be correlated with official teachers' racial counts. But this would be irrelevant, since the study tried to ascertain the subjective feelings of the subjects, to value their identification with school as an institution.

Students and school curriculum

There are two aspects of the curriculum specially interesting to this project: language difficulties and special programs. Both are linked to a certain extent, and both have a definite impact in the stay-in power of schools.

Spanish is an obvious barrier for Puerto Ricans. In spite of serious efforts by the Government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to teach English in the Island (even to the detriment of the teaching of Spanish), first generation migrants speak Spanish. Many will learn enough English to get by, but since they have a low level of formal education, they do not undertake any scientific learning of English. It should be remembered also that they feel only temporary in the continent. (In a recent survey, of all 127 students registered for English as a second language courses at Loop College only 2 were Puerto Rican.)

When professionals were asked about possible causes for dropping out, 68.4% either agreed or strongly agreed that the Puerto Rican pupils "have language problems".

The dropouts were asked "when you started attending school in Chicago, did you have special classes to learn English?". 24.4% said yes, 62.2% no, and 11.9% answered "I didn't have any problems" with English. This last percent is an indication that the problem is not simple. English is an important factor but not merely as expressed in difficulty in communicating in this language.

When the project was started, plans called for questionnaires to pupils being prepared both in English and in Spanish. As the work progressed it was clear that such duplication was unnecessary: our subjects knew English. Many had been born in Chicago and all were in or above 8th grade. (If parents had been questioned, Spanish questionnaires would have been mandatory. There is reason to believe the same would have been true with lower grades).

Among pupils in school, 15.8% of 8th graders were attending TESL (Teaching of English as a second language) classes and 31.8% had attended in the past. Freshmen were attending in 15.3% and had attended 27.0% in the past. Seniors, 11.6% now and 26.2% in the past.

Most of the effort of teaching English to Puerto Ricans in Chicago is funded by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 for TESL programs, (Program VII of the Chicago Public Schools), and by Title VII of the same Act for Bilingual Centers. (There are five such centers in the city; one of them, at Lafayette grammar school, is located in the heart of the Puerto Rican barrio).

Many of the interviewed dropouts had not benefited from TESL or Bilingual Centers because they are recent additions to regular school programs. The fact that a larger percent of 8th graders and freshmen have attended such programs than seniors may indicate a new trend not detectable as yet with this study's research instruments.

Figures of pupils attending these programs are still quite insufficient. One of the largest grammar schools visited, with 85% of Puerto Ricans, had only three TESL classrooms.

Other measurement of language proficiency relevance to stay-in trends was given by answers to questions on how well the subjects knew English. The comlexity of the answers indicates that of the problem.

59.0% of 8th graders chose "well" or "very well" as answers to the question "how well do you know English?". Similar answers were provided by 50.1% of freshmen, 53.2% of seniors and 65.9% of dropouts. Trends indicated by these figures are confirmed by mean averages.

The teaching of English in lower grades seems to be more effective today, as the younger pupils interviewed seem more confident about their ability to use that language. Mere ability to know English is not a determining factor for dropping out or staying, as dropouts are more confident still in their mastery of the language.

The professionals sampled were almost evenly divided in the answers to the question "There are substantial differences other than language between Puerto Ricans and other students". 47.4% agreed or strongly agreed while 52.6% disagreed or strongly disagreed.

New light into the problem comes from answers to "what English courses have you taken?". Dropouts attended Basic English (lowest level) in 29.0% of the cases vs. 4.9% of seniors. Essential English was attended by exactly the same percent of seniors and dropouts. Regular English by 58.7% of seniors and 40.5% of dropouts. Honors English, by 6.8% of seniors and 2.3% of dropouts.

Apart from the expected result of a larger percentage of Honors among the stay-ins, the fact of a larger presence of dropouts in Basic English seems to contradict the previous finding that dropouts are more confident in their English than seniors. The explanation to this apparent contradiction is to be found precisely in the subjectitivy of the answers. The larger confidence in themselves shown by dropouts (perhaps defiantly) combines with the put-down represented by their being placed in Basic (for them "dumb") English to produce the break out.

Basic English students are more prone to drop out than pupils in other tracks in a proportion of 4 to 1. It is to be suspected that this is a measurement of results of students fulfilling school expectations of them. The tracking system has been blamed before in Chicago for the lack of success of minority pupils.[1]

Still, English does not appear among the most liked subjects in the surveyed samples nor among the most disliked. (17.0% of dropouts vs. 12.4% seniors dislike it the most.) Physical Education is among the best liked, and Math is present both among the best liked and the most disliked. There is a larger percentage of dropouts that likes Math (24.4%) than of seniors (14.8%) and a smaller percent of dropouts that dislike Math (28.1%) than of seniors (31.4%).

The trend is toward showing that difficulty of the subject or ability to conceptualize (perhaps IQs) is not the root of the dropout problem. It is rather a problem of attitude, acceptance of the school, and confidence in oneself.

In the field of language, Spanish also would play an important role.

Asked how well they knew Spanish, those who answer well (speak, write and read) or better than English were 27.8% of 8th graders, 40.0% of freshmen, 54.8% of the seniors and 47.3% of dropouts. Lower grades seem to know less Spanish than older students. But it is striking that more seniors than dropouts show confidence in their Spanish.

Combining this information on knowledge of Spanish with that of English, a pattern emerges. A student seems more likely to have more self-confidence and stay in school if he has more attachment to and pride in his original culture. The intrinsec difficulty of mastering English is not as de-

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1 Cfr. "Tracking and Minority Students", by a subcommittee of the PTA in q-school in Chicago, CCA Journal, vol. 1 Winter 1970.

termining a factor as is the reaction of the pupil to it and what it represents.

In this line, questionnaires included questions on the frequency pupils had studied in school the History of Puerto Rico.

8th graders had studied this subject in 45.2% of the cases; freshmen, in 30.6%; seniors in 43.7%. We lack data for dropouts. There seems to be an increase in the teaching of this important aspect of the pupils' culture. This opens optimistic perspectives considering that more than 78% of respondents of every level answer they like to study in school the History of Puerto Rico.

English is not a problem students seem to be aware of, in spite of the fact that it has not been taught systematically to every pupil as a second language. Underachievement -as clearly separated from ability- is a common trait of all dropouts. The main problem in curriculum as it relates to dropout trends is then that students pick up English, but on the side, at the expense of other subjects. Every class turns into an English class. By the time they graduate or drop out, they know English and are behind in every other subject.

Any increase in the systematic teaching of English is necessary. But it has to be combined with the teaching of Spanish (specifically to the Spanish-speaking) and that of the native culture. A unilateral approach will produce the type of resentment against the school and its values that precipitates dropping out decisions.

Other element in the curriculum worth considering is the availability of special programs related to enabling the student to obtain employment and secure a financial future.

The Board of Education of the City of Chicago has several of these Programs: CWT (Cooperative Work Training); ICE (Industrial Cooperative Education); DE (Distributive Education). Asked if they participated in any of these or other work-study program, 19.6% of seniors said yes, vs. 10.2% dropouts. The likelihood of staying in school is doubled by participation. However, in the overall picture few Puerto Ricans enroll in these programs. (In the schools sampled, the non-Puerto Ricans didn't use them either: only 22.1% were enrolled in any one of them.)

Schools and Puerto Rican families

Having studied the value placed on education by Chicago Puerto Rican families, and the role it plays in the decision to drop out, the contact school-parents adds a new dimension to the problem.

Figure 8 shows frequency of visits to school by parents, as reported by pupils or dropouts.

Figure 8

Answers to the question "Do your parents come to school?"
%

	8th graders	freshmen	seniors	dropouts
"never" or "only when called in"	80.2	85.2	93.5	85.9
"often, to talk to staff"	12.1	7.8	2.2	5.9
"often, to talk to staff and for community meetings"	7.7	6.9	3.0	5.2

The overall pattern is absenteeism. There is no substantial relationship between school and parents, and what little there is decreases as the student grows older. The slight increase in dropouts can be accounted for by the extra contact between parents and school prompted by the dropping out act .

To explore the reasons for this lack of communication, parents should have been questioned. This study did not cover that point. As for the fact of the lack of contact, it was confirmed by the professionals: 78.8% stated that Puerto Rican parents attend less than 30% of the activities planned for them. None thought they attended 75% of activities.

Repeated visits to the schools have lead the researchers to guess that Puerto Rican parents would not feel at home in them. Their sheer size is a handicap (many of the parents come from rural, one-teacher schools); so is in this case the language barrier that actually prevents dialog: often the pupils themselves have to act as interpreters between teachers/administrators and parents (and loss of paternal authority and prestige follows). Although recently some schools have been provided with resource teachers and occasionally with teachers' aides and clerical staff capable of communicating in Spanish, this staff is still quite inadequate. As for written communications between school and parents, administrators are again handicapped by language difficulties even in cases where there is a personal sincere interest in bridging the gap.

In directed interviews, this problem of communications school-parents was emphasized. One parent "took his daughter out and would not let her go back to day school" (case no. 5); another (case no.11) "was called in and was kept waiting for one hour, then was given the runaround about what to do with this son. Finally his father signed a paper and N. was dismissed".

Recently the School Board has started stressing the creation of community advisory boards for schools under Title I funding. This new emphasis has started in 1970-1971 and its results are not in yet. The researchers have attended several of these meetings and have found Puerto Rican members in few cases. Often the hours are during the day, and language difficulties are a problem.

Would you go back to school?

This question was specially relevant because the majority of the dropout sample were youths under 19.

To the direct question "Would you like to go back and finish school?" 29.3% answered they'd like to go back and planned to. 31.6% they would like to, but did not know how; 12.8% "I would like to, but I need the money"; 8.3% "they won't take me back" and 18.0% no, they would not want back.

Affirmative answers may include different degrees of determination. The negative connotation of being a dropout, and the young age of the subjects, combine to increase yes answers. The return itself as a positive act may not be as close. The number of students who do not know how to go back is high.

In fact, once the student drops out, the difficulties to return increase every day. As expected, only 7.8% of the senior sample had dropped out and come back. Most students that want to come back will ask for different school settings, among other reasons, because their former classmates now are ahead.

Seniors were asked if they were ever ready to drop out and 28.9% answered affirmatively. When further asked why they didn't, financial security of a high school diploma, future in general and parents' influence were in that order the most common responses. Any attempt to lure back these youngsters will have to take them into consideration.

Among those in the case histories that plan to come back there is no set pattern. One would do so through the Board of Education's Urban Youth Program (case no. 17); other will come back "because she has nothing to do at home" (case no. 3); "L. hopes to attain her high school diploma through the G.E.D. exam. A teachers' aide at X high school will help her prepare for the exam" (case no. 9); another "maybe will enter the armed forces when drafted. If drafted he will take a trade during his time in service" (case no. 8).

The frequency of the cases where the young dropout does not know how to get back, the disparity of the ways planned by those who try, and the different setting they require, warrants an exam of the channels through which a dropout can obtain a high school diploma among the Chicago Puerto Ricans.

In November 1970, the Board of Education of the City of Chicago created an Office of Dropout Prevention Programs and appointed a Director. Hopefully this will provide chances for creation of new programs, locating funds through ESEA's Title VIII and other sources.

Meanwhile the main chance of re-enrollment is in the Board's Urban Youth Program. It offers three phases of job-oriented training for out-of-school out-of-work youth: CC (Census and Counseling) contacts the youngster upon withdrawal and counsels him into the other two phases: EE (Education and Employment), a form of cooperative work-study started with a grant from the Ford Fundation and in cooperation with city businesses and industry, and TT (Training and Transition) that offers similar features and emphasizes education.

CC contacts are made from reports filed by each school regularly on voluntary withdrawals (this is the only office in the Board to get such reports) and for the most part are made by mail. Their effectiveness in the case of the Puerto Rican mobile population is impaired by this fact.

Another alternative for returning are regular evening high schools (not very different from day schools, and located in the same buildings) or Continuation Schools.

Continuation Schools are geared to providing a chance for the student to fulfill his/her legal obligation to stay in school till 17, without attending regular day school. A pupil attends classes once a week and the rest of the time works or otherwise occupies himself. By their very purpose, Continuation Schools are not aimed at "redeeming" the dropout coaxing him to get a diploma. There are at present 88 Puerto Rican students enrolled in Continuation Schools in Chicago.

Another program aimed at preventing -not necessarily at luring back- dropouts is the Neighborhood Youth Corps during the year and mostly in the summer. In Chicago there are at least two sponsoring agencies that run NYC programs under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity of the U.S. Government: the Chicago Commission for Urban Opportunity and the Chicago School Board. Both enroll in their programs Puerto Rican youths.

A report prepared by the General Accounting Office of the Comptroller General of the United States in October 1969 on the Effectiveness and Administrative Efficiency of the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program Under Title IB of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Chicago, Illinois, stated:

> we found that the in-school and summer components (of the NYC Program) in Chicago have not had any discernible effect on the overall dropout problem... Our review revealed that after the 1963-1964 school year the Chicago public school rate of voluntary dropout had increased...

At the present time there is only one program this study has found aimed at Puerto Rican dropouts in Chicago and run by the Board of Education: the Anderson Outpost that is housed in the YMCA Residence on Division Street. It is aimed at dropouts from grammar school and aims at allowing them to graduate from it and be able to attend regular high schools. It is not planned for Puerto Ricans specifically, but it is located in the Puerto Rican barrio. Its enrollment presently is under 25 pupils.

Privately run, there is only one more program for Puerto Rican dropouts who want back: the B.U.I.L.D. Project also located in the Puerto Rican neighborhood although open to everybody. It is an outgrowth of YMCA Youth programs

and it is independent from them. It has comprehensive planning encompassing community involvement and fostering of aspirations beyond mere high school diploma, and approaching drugs, gangs and other specific problems faced by the young dropout. It stresses self-help and youth leadership. This study has not been able to evaluate statistically the effectiveness of the effort, which perhaps is too recent for a thorough show of results.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Puerto Rican young men and women in Chicago drop out of school at a rate of 71.2%. That is to say that for every 100 youngsters who attend school in Chicago, 71.2 will never complete their education and will never get a high school diploma.

This is twice the dropout rate of the city at large and the nation, as reported by the Havighurst Report in 1964. It seems to be slightly higher than that for Puerto Ricans in the Island.

The meaning of this rate in total numbers is a matter of guessing. Youths who never entered school in Chicago (but dropped out in the Island) were not included in this study.

Puerto Ricans drop out of school mostly in their freshman and sophomore years of high school, and also in substantial numbers in the transition between grammar and high school, after 8th grade.

More boys than girls drop out. Differences between both are lesser than those in the Island.

Puerto Rican youth, and specially dropouts have an identity problem. His experience of discrimination has taught him his place in society as a second-class citizen. But he is a member of a culture where self-worth and sense of pride is a vital element. The youth feels trapped in the city and torn between mixed feelings about himself almost to the point of schizophrenia.

Puerto Rican youngsters surveyed present characteristics of a culture of poverty and are in a ghetto situation. While they advance economic reasons for dropping out, these are not the most pressing ones, although they are real.

Lack of self-confidence, defensiveness and revolt against a hostile environment play a more important role in the process.

Puerto Rican pupils have lower aspirations for the future the older they are and the longer they have attended school in the city. Many of them let their lack of interest and passivity ease them out of the school situation. They never belonged there.

Some Puerto Rican youths turn to gangs or other peer groups not accepted by society. There is an increase in the size and militancy of these groups, that is due to the spreading defiance of the system that rejects them. If dropouts in general were called some time ago "social dynamite", Puerto Rican youths in Chicago are prime material for urban rioting.

Gangs in Puerto Rican communities do not prevent youngsters from attending school as a rule. They give them a more congenial environment where they feel more like persons. As the youth attends more informal gang activities, he lacks the time and interest for school.

There is among Puerto Ricans in Chicago widespread use of mild and hard drugs. This study has not analyzed in depth the problem, but has found that motivations for use of drugs are in the line of escape from a ghetto situation more than in the search for kicks.

The youth is more likely to enter gangs as a leader or turn into drugs the more intelligent he is and consequently the more aware he becomes of his discriminatory situation.

Puerto Ricans in Chicago grow in very large families. This factor may play a role in the dropout rate of Puerto Ricans as compared with other Americans -because of the acompanying financial hardships- but within Puerto Rican populations it does not.

There is little tradition of education and little value assigned to a high school diploma in the Chicago Puerto Rican household. Parents have in very few cases completed high school themselves. Children of families with high school-graduated parents drop out half as often as those whose parents did not complete that level of education.

The mechanics of migration (in the physical disruption of family life) have an effect on the dropout rate. Twice as many dropouts than stay-ins had families in which one or both parents were in the Island. But in the overall picture the largest percentage of Puerto Rican families were found "normal": both parents at home.

Education does not seem to be a subject for discussion at home. A large number of children do not know how far their parents went in formal education, and very few talk about their own schooling at home at all.

Furthermore, there seems to be very little dialog of any kind between parents and children: resentment against society by children creates a generation gap with their basically satisfied parents (who made substantial progress by migrating, and escape often into the phantasy world of a return to the Island). As between any other first and second generation migrants, the division and even the opposition is acute. In the case of Puerto Ricans the problem is compounded because the youngster sees few opportunities to succeed.

The children demean their parents as lacking ambition, resent their Spanish and try to forget it fast (while not acquiring perfect English either). They see their parents playing no role in the school and being incapable of communicating with the outside "American" world.

Their parents feel their authority challenged and threatened. This authority in rural Puerto Rico (as in many Spanish countries) was great in itself and was combined with an extended family situation.

The tension so built closes communication between parents and children and make the former's influence on the latter's staying in school almost nil. Among seniors positive influence to stay had been exerted by parents in more proportions than among dropouts.

Disagreements between parents and children occur more between mothers and daughters than between either parent and son. In the second case there is more passive lack of relationship which grows with age and school attendance.

Family mobility has been accepted in the past as a factor increasing the dropout rate, as it causes repeated transfers from school to school. The average Puerto Rican pupil by the time of his freshman year has attended between three and four schools in the city. Some attended as many as 8 and even 10. Family moves are usually within the neighborhood.

Marriage is an immediate factor for dropping out of school only among girls and in no more than 10% of the cases. Girls marry young, before they are 18 in half of the dropout cases studied.

Sex education as it relates to family values and as it would help the youngster adapt to the new value system of the continent, was not offered by schools to most dropouts. Many of them -girls twice as often as boys- expressed desire to have had it.

Schools are more influential on minority students than on "majority" ones. Chicago schools attended by Puerto Ricans are not geared for the most part to them. They also have older buildings and among the lowest per-pupil staff expenditures in the city.

Students held back one or more years have a higher incidence of dropping out cases. Over one third of the Puerto Rican pupils today are over age when they start their freshman year. This percentage is growing substantially when compared with figures for 1964 and 1965.

Students do not feel a part of the school. They blame at times the teachers for their difficulties and for the most part they blame themselves. The prevalent attitude is one of passivity and alienation from the schooling process.

Consequently students do little homework. They do less than the average American pupil and even the average Puerto Rican pupil nationwide (as reported by Coleman). Those who do homework are more likely to stay in school than those who do not. The longer they stay in school, the less time they devote to homework.

However outside-of-school reading habits are rather high among Puerto Ricans, and the number of books read decreases in the upper grades of school.

We interpret these two findings combined to mean that the Puerto Rican youth is interested in bettering his education but he seeks this betterment outside of school.

Youngsters who enroll in extracurricular activities in school are substantially more likely to succeed. This confirms the pattern that one of the major causes for dropping out is the progressive estrangement between pupil and school which ignore each other and thus the school loses the power to influence the student to stay.

This estrangement is bridged when the student is able to relate to one or two teachers. When this happened the student was more likely to stay. The large majority of Puerto Rican pupils have no special teacher they relate to.

As for the total school personnel, it was found that the influence of the classroom teacher is the most important. Seniors relate to teachers substantially better than dropouts. Around half of the Puerto Rican students do not relate to teachers.

Twice as many stay-ins than dropouts had had teachers of Spanish background (Puerto Rican or other Spanish).

Spanish teachers play an important role in easing the identity crisis of the pupils. They may be the only persons of their cultural background the pupil has ever seen in a position of authority and status. In general, only a little over half the pupils had ever been exposed to at least one teacher of Spanish descent.

As far as curriculum is concerned, the common problem of Puerto Rican pupils in the upper grades is not due to English as a means of communicating or because of its intrinsec difficulties. In this they differ substantially from their parents.

The study found that dropouts as an average feel more confident about their English than their senior counterparts. And yet they had attended Basic English (lowest track) courses four times as often as they.

At the same time more than half of the total Puerto Rican samples never were given special classes of English as a second language.

Finally, English does not show as one of the most disliked subjects till the upper divisions, and then more disliked by dropouts than seniors.

The conclusion is that Puerto Rican pupils learn English by the way as they attend school, but never well. They recognize the need of English to succeed in their present society, and react to being assigned to Basic courses by dropping out. Their problem is one of having acquired enough English to function but having fallen behind in it and other subjects in the process.

Acceptance of subjects by students and relevance to the building of their ego, more than intrinsec difficulty, is the key to staying-in. The study confirmed this by showing that the more confident a student is of his/her knowledge of Spanish the more the chances to stay. This finding is important in the light of the fact that the younger the student questioned the less Spanish he knew, and that over half of all the students surveyed had difficulties using Spanish.

Teaching of Puerto Rican History and culture is not yet a feature of Puerto Rican-attended schools in Chicago. A large percent of students questioned want it.

Very few Puerto Rican pupils were enrolled in any one of the various types of in-school work-study programs offered currently by the Chicago Public Schools. Those that were were half as likely to drop out.

Schools at the present time have almost no relationship with parents. These do not attend community meetings in most instances and do not appear in the school building at all unless called in. In this case English is a direct communication problem. Schools lack personnel in substantial numbers to establish communications in Spanish with Puerto Rican parents.

The new impulse given to community advisory boards in schools receiving Title I funds is too recent to be evaluated in this report.

Students who dropped out have varying degrees of desire to complete their education. Only one-fifth of them do not want to go back to school.

Almost one-third of them do not know how to get back. Their pride prevents others from returning to school where former classmates would be in higher grades. Those who want and plan to get back present no definite pattern in how they will do so.

Programs that are aimed at a returning dropout are very scarce. The Urban Youth Program makes contacts by mail and in so doing misses most Puerto Rican students because of their mobility.

Neighborhood Youth Corps programs have been discounted as a factor in lowering the dropout rate. This study submits that the reason for their failure is the threat they pose to the enrollee's search for dignity and self-esteem. They are unbalanced with the summer component taking the larger share, as it helps to keep the youngsters quiet during the potentially riotous summers. The corpsman hardly ever receives any training or does significant work. His paychecks are more welfare or bribe payments than payment for work accomplished.

With NYC programs in school the irony is even greater: there are a multitude of jobs the school needs to be done, like painting, replacing windows, cleaning, etc. The corpsman cannot help in any of them because they are union jobs. Most NYC enrollees are, therefore, assigned to "beautification" programs.

The lack of any sort of work-study in which the work part component is relevant to the learning of a skill or union trade is striking in the whole educational system. It is easier for the youngster to aim at college than to try to become a trade union member.

There are only two programs for returning dropouts that this study has been able to identify as relating to the Puerto Rican situation: the Anderson Outpost for dropouts

from grammar school (enrollment under 25), run by the Board of Education, and Project B.U.I.L.D., a private youth action group. Both are open to any dropouts but are located in the Puerto Rican neighborhood.

There is no current program aimed specifically at Puerto Rican dropouts in Chicago.

CHAPTER VI

RECOMMENDATIONS

The sheer number of dropouts found in this study gives a special kind of urgency to any recommendations made. This is an emergency situation, mostly in view of the shrinking opportunities for the uneducated unskilled in the job market , and the potentially explosive situation in terms of human frustration and despair.

While it is difficult to produce changes in social or economic conditions at large, schools may prove to be the last chance for incorporation and integration into American society of young Puerto Ricans.

The very size and structure of the Board of Education will make difficult the type of innovative and even dramatic changes that would need to be made in view of the magnitude of the problem.

Strict work rules and standardized increment patterns as well as too rigid a policy of promotion within the system will also work against substantial changes. When standardized teacher ratings are carried to extremes, even if this is done under union pressure, compliance with external regulations and paperwork enter more into the rating picture than do creativity, ability and willingness to experiment, and teacher-student relationhips. On the other hand, and since many programs will have to be created anew for Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking pupils in Chicago, the door will have to be open for people who have had experience with such programs in other school systems, or who had worked with the Spanish-speaking in other areas of activity.

Puerto Rican minority students depend more on the school than majority students. This fact would have to be reflected in money allocation patterns of the Board of Education. Per pupil expenditures, if the Board cannot make them larger for inner-city schools, should be made at least equal, and complemented with state or federal moneys given specifically for the poor and minority students. As it is now, these moneys in fact free the Board to allocate substantially more of its resources to the "white" schools than it does to minority schools.

The Office of Dropout Prevention Programs

This recently created Office provides the structure for comprehensive new planning and directions in the dropout problem. Its very establishment is a sign of the attention paid to the problem and the consciousness that it is an urgent one.

Data on the dropout situation of the city at large should be made available to, or better yet, created by this Office. It should adopt a new clearer definition of dropout according to federal directives. It should conduct or contract on-going studies of dropout patterns in the school system at large and in different segments of the population.

To this end, a more effective and unified system of withdrawal reporting is necessary. Acquisition of and accessibility to data need to be more flexible.

For Puerto Ricans in particular, special attention should be paid to held-back figures, transfers, and the transition from grammar to high school.

With this bulk of information, the Office will have an open field for creating new programs, mainly for youngsters who have already dropped out: presently there are almost none. These researchers recommend programs such as the Farragut Outpost, with its informal and personal contact with students, and Project B.U.I.L.D. with its comprehensive approach to the whole person of the dropout. Continuation and expansion of the current Anderson Outpost is also recommended.

Cooperating programs with business and industry will provide the needed element of self-pride in actually earning wages while working and studying.

In any work-study program, this study recommends that the work experience be meaningful, and stay away from busy-work. The possibility should be explored of work under ordinary wage-earner conditions for industry or business, although for half a day. This arrangement would not mean a substantial outlay of money for the cooperating working place and will represent a higher degree of maturity in the program.

Efforts should be made towards some revolutionary new program of study-trade training in cooperation with unions.

The big effort, this report believes, should be put

in the dropout prevention programs while the pupil is still in school.

Before the pupil drops out

The bulk of recommendations in this report are aimed at strengthening the relationship school-family and to make schools adapt to the students' needs in a more flexible way, to try and make him feel a part of the schooling process.

Recent efforts of the schools to create community advisory boards are praiseworthy. They need to be undertaken in the awareness that Puerto Rican parents present specific characteristics that have precluded their participation in similar programs in the past.

Community organizers are needed to professionally plan and carry out a progressive involvement of the community in school affairs.

These community advisory boards have to have decision-making power in school matters. Only then parents may be interested enough to attend, and children will start to see their parents in relevant roles. The goal must be a larger degree of community participation in and control of the schools. New York has provided a working model.

Adult Puerto Ricans need education. And they are not often reachable by ordinary communications media. There is a need for a new aggressive approach to adult education for the Puerto Ricans, in formal classes and in the media they use: Spanish language newspapers, and radio and Spanish TV programs.

A cooperative program with educational TV in the city is a must for the Puerto Ricans (presently there is no Spanish-aimed program on educational TV).

Information about school programs, convocations, etc. has to be made readily available to the schools in Spanish, till a time when each school will have enough staff to produce its own materials in Spanish as needed. In the meantime, there should be some form of Office for Communications in Spanish to provide these services. Directives by the U.S. Office of Education suggest the need for publication of major Board documents in Spanish for school districts with a 5% Spanish population. Chicago has 9.7%.

Parents should be consulted in planning and carrying out a necessary program of sex and marriage education, as well as in any other curriculum developments.

The transiency of the students deserves serious consideration, due to frequent family moves. It has been suggested to these researchers that a freeze on transfers be established for moves within reasonable walking distance of the former school (unless carefully explained, such a decision may alienate parents further). Another suggestion is the standardization, at a District level, of textbooks for each grade. This way, one element of transfer impact, the new textbook, would be eliminated. The effort, if taken as part of a decentralized administration of schools, will serve to strengthen cohesion at the District level.

With respect to the students, schools must go out to them, to make them a part of the schooling process.

TESL and Bilingual Centers need to be taken from the realm of demonstration and experimentation and into a new massive feature of the school system. They should not depend exclusively on federal support.

Special language-culture classes cannot be limited to the teaching of English: they need to include the teaching of Spanish for native speakers and of national cultures. (If personnel expenses prove too great for this purpose, audiovisual equipment, closed-circuit television and similar approaches can be imaginatively used for this purpose).

This requires continuous research and experimentation in curriculum: both an analysis of the general curriculum to make it more relevant to the specific characteristics of the Puerto Rican pupil and development of new materials for instruction in national cultures. (The recent allocation of funds for curriculum review for the non-English speaking would be continued, and the use of the same more carefully planned).

Spanish-descent teachers are badly needed in Puerto Rican schools. An all-out effort is needed to increase their numbers To this effect, current exchange programs should be continued, expanded and improved. The training and orientation of the in-coming teachers needs special attention: it should be remembered they have to deal with Chicago Puerto Ricans, who present specific characteristics).

The goal has to be to obtain more Chicago Spanish-speaking for this type of assignment (teaching Spanish-speaking in Chicago). The current effort to recruit Spanish-speaking people who have non-American college degrees can be very valuable. A Spanish-speaking person should be a member of or a close consultant to the Board of Education's Board of Examiners.

This report also recommends the encouraging of non-Spanish-speaking personnel of the Board of Education at every level to learn Spanish, mostly teachers. This would prove to the students the respect their culture deserves, would facilitate communication with parents, and will give the teachers themselves a taste of the value and difficulty of another language their students already know. Currently credit hours in Spanish are computed at a level with graduate credit hours for teachers' pay increments. The fact should be more publicized.

To this end, special classes of Spanish for teachers can be organized in cooperation with area universities. This study has found a high degree of interest on the part of teachers to attend such classes.

Other Spanish-speaking personnel needed are in the non-professional areas: teachers' aides, resource people, and very important, truant officers. Counselors-home visitors are needed for programs like the Urban Youth and similar that may be undertaken.

To increase student participation and community involvement in the schools, this report has recommended community advisory councils. When the community may not be interested, this report would recommend new approaches. One of the most effective may be the creation of youth community councils, made up of school alumni, mainly the recent graduates. They can provide community contact and an image for their younger comrades to look up to. Such junior community councils will not be easy to handle if created, and they will demand effective roles in the running of the schools.

Repeatedly in these recommendations there has been mention of the need for cooperating with other existing institutions, industry, business, community groups, etc.

Cooperation with universities and colleges of the area seems also of major importance. Needed research, experimentation and evaluation of programs make institutions of higher learning a natural ally of the School System. At present, many of these institutions are involved with School Board-related activities. These contacts need to be fostered and increased. To facilitate them, this report suggests the creation of an Office within the Board of Edu-

cation for University Relations. Such an office will be able to suggest topics for research, experimentation and evaluation, and can request from the area center of higher learning many other valuable services. It can also coordinate and keep up-to-date the wealth of information that will be obtained through this cooperation.

This study recommends experimental approaches to curriculum and even to classroom teaching. For the Puerto Ricans, there is need for un-graded classrooms that will albw the student to grow at his/her own pace and will avoid problems of over-age students. In the same line, a thorough revision of present tracking systems is needed to avoid its acting as a self-fulfilling predictor of failure.

The findings in this report suggest two new areas of research of particular relevance for immediate undertaking:

An analysis of parent attitudes among Puerto Ricans and of values placed on the schooling process as it relates to their children.

An evaluation of programs or elements of school that have a positive influence in increasing holding power; and a closer look at stay-ins, with a study of their motivations and a gathering of their suggestions, goals and educational aspirations. Such a study would provide a balance to the present one and may point to a more definite set of suggestions for reducing dropout rates.

A minor area of needed research is some manner of checking the validity of the findings and conclusions of this study as applied to other Spanish-speaking populations in the city, as well as to other populations of Puerto Ricans in urban areas of the continent.

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APPENDIX A

Exploratory Questionnaire

1. Name_____Married?_____

Living home now?_____Address_____

Phone_____Age____

Age you came into U.S._____to Chicago_____

a. At the time you stopped going to school:

Was your father living_____at home?_____.

He went to school till_____grade.

Was your mother living_____at home?_____.

She went to school till_____grade.

b. You attended:

School	from	to
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

c. Work--list your job or jobs since you left school

Job	from	to
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

2. Why did you leave school?

How did you break away from school? Any particular incident happen?

School: Teachers (any Puerto Rican?)

Grades (how did it go in grammar school?)

Classmates

Future (did you think school would improve your chances for employment?)

Friends: Do you have many?

Were they in or out of school?

Do you belong to any youth group?

Family: Did your family need the money? Did you?

Did your brothers-sisters finish high school?

Marriage: Were you married while in high school?

Would you want to go back and finish high school? How?

3. If you are given a series of questions or statements to finish, how would you complete them?

Most people drop out of high school because_____

_____

_____

_____

There are more, as many, fewer Puerto Ricans who drop out of school than there are Whites_____ than Negroes_____.

A successful Puerto Rican is one who_____

_____

APPENDIX B

CUE Puerto Rican Study
Check-out Questionnaire(LS)

Thank you for taking time to answer this questionnaire. We hope that with your cooperation the results of our study will be helpful to many other Puerto Rican young people.

You do not need to give your name. Answer as accurately as possible. If there are two or more answers that you think almost as true, check only one, the one that better expresses your feelings.

Gracias otra vez.

1. YOUR AGE:

(1) less than 15___
(2) 15___
(3) 16___
(4) 17___
(5) 18___
(6) 19___
(7) 20___
(8) 21___
(9) 22___
(0) more than 22___

2. YOUR SEX:

(1) male ___
(2) female___

3. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN CHICAGO?

(1) Born here ___
(2) less than 5 years___
(3) between 5 and 10 years ___
(4) more than 10 years ___

4. YOU STARTED ATTENDING SCHOOL IN CHICAGO IN

(1) Kindergarten___
(2) 1st grade ___
(3) 2nd grade ___
(4) 3rd grade ___
(5) 4th grade ___
(6) 5th grade ___
(7) 6th grade ___
(8) 7th grade ___
(9) 8th grade ___
(0) High school ___

5. WHEN YOU STARTED ATTENDING SCHOOL IN CHICAGO, DID YOU HAVE SPECIAL CLASSES TO LEARN ENGLISH?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___
(3) I didn't have problems with English ___

6. AT THE TIME YOU STOPPED ATTENDING SCHOOL, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WOULD HAVE APPLIED BEST TO YOUR FAMILY:

(1) Both parents at home ___
(2) Both parents in Puerto Rico ___
(3) Only mother at home, father in Puerto Rico ___
(4) Only mother at home, parents separated or divorced ___
(5) Only father at home ___
(6) No parent at home___
(7) Other (living on your own) ___

7. HOW MANY OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

(1) 1 ___
(2) 2 ___
(3) 3 ___
(4) 4 ___
(5) 5 ___
(6) 6 ___
(7) 7 ___
(8) 8 ___
(9) more than 8 ___
(0) none ___

8. HOW MANY YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

(1) 1 ___
(2) 2 ___
(3) 3 ___
(4) 4 ___
(5) 5 ___
(6) 6 ___
(7) 7 ___
(8) 8 ___
(9) more than 8 ___
(0) none ___

9. HOW MANY OF YOUR OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL?

(1) all of them ___
(2) some of them ___
(3) none of them ___
(4) I don't have any ___

10. HOW LONG DID YOUR MOTHER ATTEND SCHOOL?

(1) She didn't ___
(2) less than 4th grade ___
(3) 4th to 8th grade ___
(4) some high school ___
(5) completed high school ___
(6) some college ___
(7) completed college ___
(8) don't know ___

11. HOW LONG DID YOUR FATHER ATTEND SCHOOL?

(1) He didn't ___
(2) less than 4th grade ___
(3) 4th to 8th grade ___
(4) some high school ___
(5) completed high school ___
(6) some college ___
(7) completed college ___
(8) don't know ___

12. YOU STOPPED ATTENDING SCHOOL IN:

(1) grammar school ___
(2) after 8th grade ___
(3) freshman year ___
(4) sophomore year ___
(5) junior year ___
(6) senior year ___

13. WHICH OF THESE STATEMENTS BEST REFLECTS YOUR REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL?

(1) I was "eased out" of school ___
(2) I quit to go to work ___
(3) School was too hard ___
(4) I got married ___
(5) I left for personal reasons ___
(6) My parents took me out ___

14. DID YOU HAVE IN SCHOOL ANY TEACHER

(1) From Puerto Rico ___
(2) Other Spanish-speaking only ___
(3) Both P.Rican and other Spanish ___
(4) Both of these, and American teachers who knew Spanish ___
(5) Only Americans who spoke Spanish ___
(6) None of these ___

15. WHAT TEACHERS DID YOU RELATE TO BEST IN SCHOOL?

(1) none ___
(2) one or two ___
(3) well with almost everyone ___

16. WITH WHOM DID YOU RELATE BEST IN THE SCHOOL STAFF?

(1) Resource teacher___
(2) Teacher ___
(3) Counselor ___
(4) Principal ___
(5) Teacher's aide ___
(6) Janitor ___
(7) None at all ___

17. DID YOUR PARENTS COME TO SCHOOL?

(1) Never ___
(2) Often, to talk with the staff ___
(3) Often, to talk with the staff and for community meetings ___
(4) Only when called in___

18. WHAT SUBJECT DID YOU LIKE MOST IN SCHOOL?

(1) Math ___
(2) Social studies ___
(3) Business ___
(4) Science ___
(5) English ___
(6) P.E.-ROTC ___
(7) Shop ___
(8) Foreign languages___
(9) All about the same ___
(0) None ___

19. WHAT SUBJECT DID YOU DISLIKE MOST?

(1) Math ___
(2) Social studies ___
(3) Business ___
(4) Science ___
(5) English ___
(6) P.E.-ROTC ___
(7) Shop ___
(8) Foreign language___
(9) All about the same ___
(0) None ___

20. WHAT ENGLISH COURSES DID YOU TAKE?

(1) Basic ___
(2) Essential___
(3) Regular ___
(4) Honors ___

21. DID YOU PARTICIPATE IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOL?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

22. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE DISCIPLINE IN YOUR SCHOOL?

(1) fair (just) ___
(2) too strict ___
(3) not strict enough___
(4) unfair (unjust) ___

23. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE GRADING SYSTEM IN YOUR SCHOOL?

(1) fair (just) ___
(2) too strict ___
(3) not strict enough___
(4) unfair (unjust) ___

24. HOW WERE YOUR GRADES IN GRAMMAR SCHOOL?

(1) good ___
(2) average ___
(3) less than average___

25. HOW WERE YOUR GRADES IN HIGH SCHOOL?

(1) the same as in grammar school___
(2) better than in grammar school___
(3) worse than in grammar school___

26. DID YOU EVER REPEAT THE SAME GRADE?

(1) never ___
(2) one year, because I transferred ___
(3) one year, when I came from P. Rico___
(4) one year, because I failed ___
(5) two years or more (any reason) ___

27. HOW WOULD YOU SAY YOU KNOW ENGLISH?

(1) very well ___
(2) well ___
(3) average ___
(4) less than average___
(5) badly ___

28. HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW SPANISH?

(1) seldom speak it, but understand it ___
(2) speak, but can hardly read, write ___
(3) speak, write and read well ___
(4) even better than English ___

29. HOW MUCH TIME DID YOU GIVE TC HOMEWORK WHEN YOU WERE IN SCHOOL (AT HOME)?

(1) less than one hour___
(2) one to three hours___
(3) over three hours ___
(4) none at all ___

30. DID YOU ASK QUESTIONS IN CLASS WHEN YOU DIDN'T UNDERSTAND?

(1) always ___
(2) often ___
(3) sometimes ___
(4) hardly ever___
(5) never ___

31. DID YOU READ A LOT WHILE YOU WERE IN SCHOOL?

(1) no ___
(2) newspapers mostly___
(3) comics mostly ___
(4) books mostly ___
(5) everything in (2), (3), and (4) ___

32. DID YOU HAVE OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT WHILE IN SCHOOL?

(1) none ___
(2) less than 20 hours per week ___
(3) between 20 and 40 hours per week ___
(4) full time ___

33. DID YOU ATTEND ANY OF THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMS WHILE IN SCHOOL?

(1) CWT ___
(2) ICE ___
(3) OO ___
(4) DE ___
(5) Other work-study ___
(6) None of these___

34. WOULD YOU HAVE STAYED IN SCHOOL IF THEY HAD OFFERED PROGRAMS IN

(1) auto-mechanics ___
(2) electricity ___
(3) printing ___
(4) other vocational___
(5) none of these ___

35. WOULD YOU HAVE STAYED IN SCHOOL IF YOU COULD HAVE

(1) worked half-day, study half-day___
(2) had your school expenses paid ___
(3) made $25.00 a week while there ___
(4) made $30.00 a week ___
(5) in none of these cases ___

36. DID YOU DISCUSS SCHOOL WITH YOUR PARENTS? (WHILE YOU WERE ATTENDING)

(1) often ___
(2) seldom, sometimes___
(3) never ___

37. WHEN YOU STOPPED ATTENDING SCHOOL, DID YOUR PARENTS

(1) took you out themselves? ___
(2) went to school to keep you there? ___
(3) reprimanded you? ___
(4) left it up to you? ___
(5) didn't care? ___

38. WHO HAD THE MOST INFLUENCE ON YOU OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) father ___
(2) mother ___
(3) clergyman___
(4) brother ___
(5) sister ___
(6) neighbor ___
(7) friend ___
(8) other ___

39. WOULD YOU SAY THAT WHILE IN SCHOOL YOU HAD

(1) many friends? ___
(2) some friends, lots of acquaintances?__
(3) few friends? ___
(4) one or two friends? ___
(5) none of these?___

40. WERE YOUR FRIENDS FOR THE MOST PART

(1) your age, mostly out of school?__
(2) your age, both out and in school? __
(3) older, mostly out of school?__
(4) older, some in, some out of school? __
(5) your age, mostly in school? __

41. DID YOU BELONG TO ANY ORGANIZED GROUP OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) boys clubs ___
(2) church youth group ___
(3) other youth group ___
(4) none ___

42. DID YOU GET MARRIED

(1) right after you left school ___
(2) immediately before (that's why you left)___
(3) some time later, after leaving? ___
(4) you are still single ___

43. DID YOU GET SEX EDUCATION IN SCHOOL?

(1) yes, and I learned a lot ___
(2) yes, but I didn't learn much ___
(3) no, and I would have wanted it ___
(4) no, and I didn't need it ___

44. WAS THERE IN YOUR FAMILY ANY ONE PERSON YOU DIDN'T GET ALONG WITH (NOT AT ALL)?

(1) mother ___
(2) father ___
(3) step-mother ___
(4) step-father ___
(5) brother ___
(6) sister ___
(7) other ___
(8) none ___

45. WOULD YOU LIKE TO GO BACK AND FINISH HIGH SCHOOL?

(1) yes, and I intend to ___
(2) yes, but I don't know how ___
(3) yes, but I need the money ___
(4) no ___
(5) they won't take me back ___

46. DO YOU THINK THERE ARE MORE OR FEWER PUERTO RICANS WHO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL THAN WHITES?

(1) yes, more ___
(2) about the same ___
(3) no, there are less ___

47. DO YOU THINK THERE ARE MORE OR FEWER PUERTO RICANS WHO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL THAN BLACKS?

(1) yes, more ___
(2) about the same ___
(3) no, there are less ___

48. NOT TALKING ABOUT YOU NOW; WOULD YOU SAY MOST PUERTO RICANS WHO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL DO SO BECAUSE

(1) they are kicked out ___
(2) they need money ___
(3) they "have problems" ___
(4) they are bored ___
(5) they want to work ___
(6) they are lazy ___
(7) they get married ___
(8) for personal reasons ___
(9) lack of interest ___
(0) you have no idea ___

49. WOULD YOU LIKE TO HELP US FURTHER BY ANSWERING MORE QUESTIONS SOME OTHER TIME?

(1) yes ___ (please give name and address with phone).
(2) no ___

GRACIAS DE NUEVO!!

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire for 8th Graders

Please answer every question. Mark only one answer. Do not sign your name.

1. YOUR AGE:

(1) less than 14 ___
(2) 14 ___
(3) 15 ___
(4) 16 ___
(5) more than 16 ___

2. YOUR SEX:

(1) male ___
(2) female___

3. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN CHICAGO?

(1) Born here ___
(2) less than 5 years___
(3) between 5 and 10 years ___
(4) more than 10 years ___

4. HOW ABOUT YOUR PARENTS? WERE THEY BORN

(1) In the continental United States?___
(2) In Puerto Rico? ___
(3) In other Spanish country? ___
(4) In Europe? ___
(5) In Asia? ___

5. YOU STARTED ATTENDING SCHOOL IN CHICAGO IN

(1) Kindergarten___
(2) 1st grade ___
(3) 2nd grade ___
(4) 3rd grade ___
(5) 4th grade ___
(6) 5th grade ___
(7) 6th grade ___
(8) 7th grade ___
(9) 8th grade ___

6. ARE YOU NOW ATTENDING ANY TESL OR BILINGUAL CLASSES?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

7. HAVE YOU ATTENDED SUCH CLASSES IN THE PAST?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

8. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLIES BEST TO YOUR HOME TODAY?

(1) Both parents at home ___
(2) Parents in a foreign country ___
(3) Both parents in Puerto Rico ___
(4) Only mother at home, father in Puerto Rico ___
(5) Only mother at home, parents separated or divorced ___
(6) Only father at home ___
(7) No parent at home ___
(8) Other (specify)_____
_____

9. HOW MANY OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

(1) 1 ___
(2) 2 ___
(3) 3 ___
(4) 4 ___
(5) 5 ___
(6) 6 ___
(7) 7 ___
(8) 8 ___
(9) more than 8___
(0) none ___

10. HOW MANY YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

(1) 1 ___
(2) 2 ___
(3) 3 ___
(4) 4 ___
(5) 5 ___
(6) 6 ___
(7) 7 ___
(8) 8 ___
(9) more than 8 ___
(0) none ___

11. HOW LONG DID YOUR MOTHER ATTEND SCHOOL?

(1) She didn't ___
(2) less than 4th grade ___
(3) 4th to 8th grade ___
(4) some high school ___
(5) completed high school ___
(6) some college ___
(7) completed college ___
(8) don't know ___
(9) she attended school in a different grade and record system ___

12. HOW LONG DID YOUR FATHER ATTEND SCHOOL?

(1) He didn't ___
(2) less than 4th grade ___
(3) 4th to 8th grade ___
(4) some high school ___
(5) completed high school ___
(6) some college ___
(7) completed college ___
(8) don't know ___
(9) he attended school in a different grade and record system ___

13. HAVE YOU HAD IN SCHOOL ANY TEACHER

(1) From Puerto Rico ___
(2) Other Spanish-speaking native, but not Puerto Rican ___
(3) Both Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking ___
(4) Both of these, and Americans who knew Spanish ___
(5) Americans who knew Spanish, but not native Spanish ___
(6) None of these ___

14. HOW MANY TEACHERS DO YOU RELATE WELL TO IN SCHOOL?

(1) none ___
(2) one or two ___
(3) well with almost everyone ___

15. WHOM DO YOU RELATE BEST WITH IN THE SCHOOL STAFF?

(1) Resource teacher ___
(2) Teacher ___
(3) Counselor ___
(4) Principal ___
(5) Teachers Aide ___
(6) Janitor ___
(7) None at all ___

16. DO YOUR PARENTS COME TO SCHOOL?

(1) Never ___
(2) Often, to talk with the staff ___
(3) Often, to talk with the staff and for community meetings ___
(4) Only when called in ___

17. WHAT SUBJECT DO YOU LIKE MOST?

(1) Math ___
(2) Social studies ___
(3) Business ___
(4) Sciences ___
(5) English ___
(6) All about the same ___
(7) None at all ___
(8) Other (specify) ___

18. WHAT SUBJECT DO YOU DISLIKE MOST?

(1) Math ___
(2) Social studies ___
(3) Business ___
(4) Sciences ___
(5) English ___
(6) All about the same ___
(7) None at all ___
(8) Other (specify) ___

19. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE GRADING SYSTEM IN SCHOOL?

(1) Fair (just) ___
(2) Too strict ___
(3) Not strict enough ___
(4) Unfair (unjust) ___

20. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE DISCIPLINE IN SCHOOL?

(1) Fair (just) ___
(2) Too strict ___
(3) Not strict enough ___
(4) Unfair (unjust) ___

21. HOW WOULD YOU SAY YOU KNOW ENGLISH

(1) Very well ___
(2) well ___
(3) average ___
(4) less than average ___
(5) badly ___

22. HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW SPANISH?

(1) Not at all ___
(2) I took some in school ___
(3) Seldom speak it, but I understand it ___
(4) I speak it, but can hardly read and write it ___
(5) I speak, read and write it well ___
(6) Even better than English ___

23. DO YOU ASK QUESTIONS IN CLASS WHEN YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND?

(1) always ___
(2) often ___
(3) sometimes ___
(4) hardly ever ___
(5) never ___

24. WHO HAS THE MOST INFLUENCE ON YOU OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) father ___
(2) mother ___
(3) clergyman ___
(4) brother ___
(5) sister ___
(6) neighbor ___
(7) friend ___
(8) other ___

25. ARE YOUR FRIENDS FOR THE MOST PART

(1) In school? ___
(2) Out of school? ___

26. DO YOU HAVE IN SCHOOL

(1) many friends? ___
(2) some friends, lots of acquaintances? ___
(3) few friends? ___
(4) one or two friends? ___
(5) none of these? ___

27. DO YOU BELONG TO ANY ORGANIZED GROUP OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) boys club ___
(2) church youth group ___
(3) other youth group ___
(4) none ___

28. DO YOU THINK YOU ARE BRIGHTER THAN MOST PEOPLE?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

29. DO YOU PLAN TO ATTEND COLLEGE?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

30. HAVE YOU KNOWN YOUNG PEOPLE YOUR AGE WHO HAVE DROPPED OUT OF SCHOOL?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

31. HOW MANY BOOKS HAVE YOU READ THIS YEAR OUTSIDE OF THE SCHOOL?

(1) one
(2) two
(3) more than two
(4) none

32. WHAT TYPE OF STUDENT DO YOU THINK DROPS OUF OF SCHOOL MORE OFTEN? (PUT NUMBERS 1,2,3 TO INDICATE THE TYPE OF STUDENT WHO DROPS OUT MOST, LESS, LEAST.

(1) Black students ___
(2) White students ___
(3) Puerto Rican students ___

33. NOW THERE ARE A FEW PHRASES. TELL US IF YOU THINK THEY ARE TRUE OR NOT:

"I JUST CANNOT LEARN"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

34. "I'D DO BETTER IF THE TEACHER DID NOT GO SO FAST"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

35. "LUCK (<u>BUENA SUERTE</u>) IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WORK"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

36. "WHEN I TRY, SOMEBODY OR SOMETHING STOPS ME"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

37. HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU GIVE TO HOMEWORK EVERY-DAY?

(1) less than one hour ___
(2) one to three hours ___
(3) over three hours ___
(4) none at all ___

38. HOW MANY SCHOOLS HAVE YOU ATTENDED IN CHICAGO SO FAR?

(1) one ___
(2) two ___
(3) three ___
(4) four ___
(5) five ___
(6) more than five ___

39. HAVE YOU EVER STUDIED IN SCHOOL THE HISTORY OF PUERTO RICO?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

40. DO YOU LIKE TO?
(STUDY THE HISTORY
OF PUERTO RICO)

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

41. DO YOU THINK YOU AND
YOUR PARENTS WILL HAVE
ENOUGH MONEY FOR YOU
TO FINISH HIGH SCHOOL?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

42. DO YOU PARTICIPATE
IN CLUBS, ACTIVITIES
AND THINGS LIKE THAT
IN SCHOOL?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire for Freshmen

Please answer <u>every question</u>, marking only <u>one</u> answer. <u>Do not</u> sign your name.

1. YOUR AGE

(1) less than 14___
(2) 14___
(3) 15___
(4) 16___
(5) more than 16___

2. YOUR SEX:

(1) male ___
(2) female___

3. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN CHICAGO?

(1) Born here ___
(2) less than 5 years___
(3) between 5 and 10 years ___
(4) more than 10 years ___

4. HOW ABOUT YOUR PARENTS? WERE THEY BORN

(1) In the continental United States?___
(2) In Puerto Rico? ___
(3) In other Spanish country? ___
(4) In Europe? ___
(5) In Asia? ___

5. YOU STARTED ATTENDING SCHOOL IN CHICAGO IN

(1) Kindergarten___
(2) 1st grade ___
(3) 2nd grade ___
(4) 3rd grade ___
(5) 4th grade ___
(6) 5th grade ___
(7) 6th grade ___
(8) 7th grade ___
(9) 8th grade ___

6. ARE YOU NOW ATTENDING ANY TESL OR BILINGUAL CLASSES?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

7. HAVE YOU ATTENDED SUCH CLASSES IN THE PAST?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

8. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLIES BEST TO YOUR HOME TODAY?

(1) Both parents at home ___
(2) Parents in a foreign country ___
(3) Both parents in Puerto Rico ___
(4) Only mother at home, father in Puerto Rico ___
(5) Only mother at home, parents separated or divorced ___
(6) Only father at home ___
(7) No parent at home ___
(8) Other (specify) ___

_____

9. HOW MANY OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

(1) 1 ___
(2) 2 ___
(3) 3 ___
(4) 4 ___
(5) 5 ___
(6) 6 ___
(7) 7 ___
(8) 8 ___
(9) more than 8___
(0) none ___

10. HOW MANY YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

(1) 1 ___
(2) 2 ___
(3) 3 ___
(4) 4 ___
(5) 5 ___
(6) 6 ___
(7) 7 ___
(8) 8 ___
(9) more than 8 ___
(0) none ___

11. HOW LONG DID YOUR MOTHER ATTEND SCHOOL?

(1) She didn't ___
(2) less than 4th grade ___
(3) 4th to 8th grade ___
(4) some high school ___
(5) completed high school ___
(6) some college ___
(7) completed college ___
(8) don't know ___
(9) he attended school in a different grade and record system ___

12. HOW LONG DID YOUR FATHER ATTEND SCHOOL?

(1) He didn't ___
(2) less than 4th grade ___
(3) 4th to 8th grade ___
(4) some high school ___
(5) completed high school ___
(6) some college ___
(7) completed college ___
(8) don't know ___
(9) he attended school in a different grade and record system ___

13. HAVE YOU HAD IN SCHOOL ANY TEACHER

(1) From Puerto Rico? ___
(2) Other Spanish-speaking native, but not Puerto Rican ___
(3) Both Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking ___
(4) Both of these, and Americans who knew Spanish ___
(5) Americans who knew Spanish, but not native Spanish ___
(6) None of these ___

14. HOW MANY TEACHERS DO YOU RELATE WELL TO IN SCHOOL?

(1) none ___
(2) one or two ___
(3) well with almost everyone ___

15. TO WHOM DO YOU RELATE BEST IN THE SCHOOL STAFF?

(1) Resource teacher (community) ___
(2) Teacher (classroom) ___
(3) Counselor ___
(4) Principal ___
(5) Teachers Aide ___
(6) Janitor ___
(7) Other (specify) ___

_____

(8) None at all ___

16. DO YOUR PARENTS COME TO SCHOOL?

(1) Never ___
(2) Often, to talk with the staff ___
(3) Often, to talk with the staff and for community meetings ___
(4) Only when called in ___

17. WHAT SUBJECT DO YOU LIKE MOST?

(1) Math ___
(2) Social studies ___
(3) Business ___
(4) Sciences ___
(5) English ___
(6) P.E. or ROTC ___
(7) Shop ___
(8) Foreign Languages ___
(9) All about the same ___
(0) None ___

18. WHAT SUBJECT DO YOU DISLIKE MOST?

(1) Math ___
(2) Social studies ___
(3) Business ___
(4) Sciences ___
(5) English ___
(6) P.E. or ROTC ___
(7) Shop ___
(8) Foreign Languages ___
(9) All about the same ___
(0) None ___

19. DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN CLUBS, ACTIVITIES AND THINGS LIKE THAT IN SCHOOL?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

20. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE DISCIPLINE IN SCHOOL?

(1) Fair (just) ___
(2) Too strict ___
(3) Not strict enough ___
(4) Unfair (unjust) ___

21. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE GRADING SYSTEM IN SCHOOL?

(1) Fair (just) ___
(2) Too strict ___
(3) Not strict enough ___
(4) Unfair (unjust) ___

22. HOW WOULD YOU SAY YOU KNOW ENGLISH?

(1) Very well ___
(2) Well ___
(3) Average ___
(4) Less than average ___
(5) Badly ___

23. HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW SPANISH?

(1) Not at all ___
(2) I took some in school ___
(3) Seldom speak it, but I understand it ___
(4) I speak it, but can hardly read and write it ___
(5) I speak, read and write it well ___
(6) Even better than English ___

24. DO YOU ASK QUESTIONS IN CLASS WHEN YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND?

(1) always ___
(2) often ___
(3) sometimes ___
(4) hardly ever ___
(5) never ___

25. WHO HAS THE MOST INFLUENCE ON YOU OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) father ___
(2) mother ___
(3) clergyman ___
(4) brother ___
(5) sister ___
(6) neighbor ___
(7) friend ___
(8) other ___

26. DO YOU HAVE IN SCHOOL

(1) many friends? ___
(2) some friends, lots of acquaintances? ___
(3) few friends? ___
(4) one or two friends? ___
(5) none of these? ___

27. ARE YOUR FRIENDS FOR THE MOST PART

(1) In school? ___
(2) Out of school? ___

28. DO YOU BELONG TO ANY ORGANIZED GROUP OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) Boys club ___
(2) Church youth group ___
(3) Other youth group ___
(4) None ___

29. DO YOU THINK YOU ARE BRIGHTER THAN MOST PEOPLE?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

30. DO YOU PLAN TO ATTEND COLLEGE?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

31. HAVE YOU KNOWN YOUNG PEOPLE YOUR AGE WHO HAVE DROPPED OUT OF SCHOOL?

(1) yes, during grammar school ___
(2) yes, they finished grammar school but never went on to high school ___
(3) yes, they dropped out of high school ___
(4) no ___

32. WHAT TYPE OF STUDENT DO YOU THINK DROPS OUT OF SCHOOL MORE OFTEN? (PUT NUMBERS 1,2,3 TO INDICATE THE TYPE OF STUDENT WHO DROPS OUT MOST, LESS, LEAST).

(1) Black students ___
(2) White students ___
(3) Puerto Rican students ___

33. HOW MANY BOOKS HAVE YOU READ THIS YEAR OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) one ___
(2) two ___
(3) more than two ___
(4) none ___

34. NOW THERE ARE A FEW PHRASES. TELL US IF YOU THINK THEY ARE TRUE OR NOT:

"I JUST CANNOT LEARN"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

35. "I'D DO BETTER IF THE TEACHER DID NOT GO SO FAST"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

36. "LUCK (<u>BUENA SUERTE</u>) IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WORK"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

37. "PEOPLE LIKE ME DON'T HAVE MUCH OF A CHANCE"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

38. "WHEN I TRY, SOMEBODY OR SOMETHING STOPS ME"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

39. HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU GIVE TO HOMEWORK EVERYDAY?

(1) less than one hour___
(2) one to three hours___
(3) over three hours ___
(4) none at all ___

40. HOW MANY SCHOOLS HAVE YOU ATTENDED IN CHICAGO SO FAR?

(1) one ___
(2) two ___
(3) three ___
(4) four ___
(5) five ___
(6) more than five____

41. HAVE YOU EVER STUDIED IN SCHOOL THE HISTORY OF PUERTO RICO?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

42. DO YOU LIKE TO? (STUDY HISTORY OF PUERTO RICO?)

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

43. DO YOU THINK YOU AND YOUR PARENTS WILL HAVE ENOUGH MONEY FOR YOU TO FINISH HIGH SCHOOL?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX E

Questionnaire for Seniors

Please answer <u>every question</u>, marking <u>only one</u> answer. <u>Do not sign</u> your name. Thank you.

1. YOUR AGE:

(1) less than 17___
(2) 17___
(3) 18___
(4) 19___
(5) 20___
(6) more than 20___

2. YOUR SEX:

(1) male ___
(2) female___

3. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN CHICAGO?

(1) Born here ___
(2) less than 5 years___
(3) between 5 and 10 years ___
(4) more than 10 years ___

4. HOW ABOUT YOUR PARENTS? WERE THEY BORN

(1) In the continental United States?___
(2) In Puerto Rico? ___
(3) In other Spanish country? ___
(4) In Europe? ___
(5) In Asia? ___

5. YOU STARTED ATTENDING SCHOOL IN CHICAGO IN

(1) Kindergarten___
(2) 1st grade ___
(3) 2nd grade ___
(4) 3rd grade ___
(5) 4th grade ___
(6) 5th grade ___
(7) 6th grade ___
(8) 7th grade ___
(9) 8th grade ___

6. ARE YOU NOW ATTENDING ANY TESL OR BILINGUAL CLASSES?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

7. HAVE YOU ATTENDED SUCH CLASSES IN THE PAST?

(1) yes___
(2) no ___

8. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLIES BEST TO YOUR HOME TODAY?

(1) Both parents at home ___
(2) Parents in a foreign country ___
(3) Both parents in Puerto Rico ___
(4) Only mother at home, father in Puerto Rico ___
(5) Only mother at home, parents separated or divorced ___
(6) Only father at home ___
(7) No parent at home ___
(8) Other (specify) ___

_____

9. HOW MANY OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

(1) 1 ___
(2) 2 ___
(3) 3 ___
(4) 4 ___
(5) 5 ___
(6) 6 ___
(7) 7 ___
(8) 8 ___
(9) more than 8___
(0) none ___

10. HOW MANY YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

(1) 1 ___
(2) 2 ___
(3) 3 ___
(4) 4 ___
(5) 5 ___
(6) 6 ___
(7) 7 ___
(8) 8 ___
(9) more than 8 ___
(0) none ___

11. HOW MANY OF YOUR OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL?

(1) all of them ___
(2) some of them ___
(3) none of them ___
(4) I don't have any ___

12. DO YOU DISCUSS SCHOOL WITH YOUR PARENTS?

(1) Often ___
(2) Sometimes ___
(3) Never ___

13. HOW LONG DID YOUR MOTHER ATTEND SCHOOL?

(1) She didn't ___
(2) less than 4th grade ___
(3) 4th to 8th grade ___
(4) some high school ___
(5) completed high school ___
(6) some college ___
(7) completed college ___
(8) don't know ___
(9) she attended school in a different grade and record system ___

14. HOW LONG DID YOUR FATHER ATTEND SCHOOL?

(1) He didn't ___
(2) less than 4th grade ___
(3) 4th to 8th grade ___
(4) some high school ___
(5) completed high school ___
(6) some college ___
(7) completed college ___
(8) don't know ___
(9) he attended school in a different grade and record system ___

15. HAVE YOU HAD IN SCHOOL ANY TEACHER

(1) From Puerto Rico? ___
(2) Other Spanish-speaking native, but not Puerto Rican ___
(3) Both Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking ___
(4) Both of these, and Americans who knew Spanish ___
(5) Americans who knew Spanish, but not native Spanish ___
(6) None of these ___

16. HOW MANY TEACHERS DO YOU RELATE WELL TO IN SCHOOL?

(1) none ___
(2) one or two ___
(3) well with almost everyone ___

17. WHOM DO YOU RELATE BEST WITH IN THE SCHOOL STAFF?

(1) Resource teacher ___
(2) Teacher ___
(3) Counselor ___
(4) Principal ___
(5) Teachers Aide ___
(6) Janitor ___
(7) None at all ___

18. DO YOUR PARENTS COME TO SCHOOL?

(1) Never ___
(2) Often, to talk with the staff ___
(3) Often, to talk with the staff and for community meetings ___
(4) Only when called in ___

19. WHAT SUBJECT DO YOU LIKE MOST?

(1) Math ___
(2) Social studies ___
(3) Business ___
(4) Science ___
(5) English ___
(6) P.E.-ROTC ___
(7) Shop ___
(8) Foreign Languages ___
(9) all about the same ___
(0) none ___

20. WHAT SUBJECT DO YOU DISLIKE MOST?

(1) Math ___
(2) Social studies ___
(3) Business ___
(4) Science ___
(5) English ___
(6) P.E.-ROTC ___
(7) Shop ___
(8) Foreign Languages ___
(9) all about the same ___
(0) none ___

21. DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN CLUBS? ACTIVITIES AND THINGS LIKE THAT IN SCHOOL?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

22. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE DISCIPLINE IN SCHOOL?

(1) Fair (just) ___
(2) Too strict ___
(3) Not strict enough ___
(4) Unfair (unjust) ___

23. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE GRADING SYSTEM IN SCHOOL?

(1) Fair (just) ___
(2) Too strict ___
(3) Not strict enough ___
(4) Unfair (unjust) ___

24. HOW WOULD YOU SAY YOU KNOW ENGLISH?

(1) Very well ___
(2) well ___
(3) average ___
(4) less than average ___
(5) badly ___

25. HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW SPANISH?

(1) Not at all ___
(2) I took some in school ___
(3) Seldom speak it, but I understand it ___
(4) I speak it, but can hardly read and write it ___
(5) I speak, read and write it well ___
(6) Even better than English ___

26. DO YOU ASK QUESTIONS IN CLASS WHEN YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND?

(1) always ___
(2) often ___
(3) sometimes ___
(4) hardly ever ___
(5) never ___

27. WHO HAS THE MOST INFLUENCE ON YOU OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) father ___
(2) mother ___
(3) clergyman ___
(4) brother ___
(5) sister ___
(6) neighbor ___
(7) friend ___
(8) other ___

28. DO YOU HAVE IN SCHOOL

(1) Many friends? ___
(2) some friends, lots of acquaintances? ___
(3) few friends? ___
(4) one or two friends? ___
(5) none of these? ___

29. ARE YOUR FRIENDS FOR THE MOST PART

(1) In school? ___
(2) Out of school? ___

30. DO YOU BELONG TO ANY ORGANIZED GROUP OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?

(1) Boys club ___
(2) Church youth group ___
(3) Other youth group ___
(4) None ___

31. DO YOU THINK YOU ARE BRIGHTER THAN MOST PEOPLE?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

32. DO YOU PLAN TO ATTEND COLLEGE?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

33. HAVE YOU APPLIED TO ANY COLLEGE?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

34. HAVE YOU READ A COLLEGE CATALOG?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

35. HAVE YOU KNOWN YOUNG PEOPLE YOUR AGE WHO HAVE DROPPED OUT OF SCHOOL?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

36. HOW MANY BOOKS HAVE YOU READ THIS YEAR OUTSIDE OF THE SCHOOL?

(1) one ___
(2) two ___
(3) more than two ___
(4) none ___

37. WHAT TYPE OF STUDENT DO YOU THINK DROPS OUT OF SCHOOL MORE OFTEN? (PUT NUMBERS 1,2,3 TO INDICATE THE TYPE OF STUDENT WHO DROPS OUT MOST, LESS, LEAST)

(1) Black students ___
(2) White students ___
(3) Puerto Rican students ___

38. NOW THERE ARE A VEW PHRASES. TELL US IF YOU THINK THEY ARE TRUE OR NOT:

"I JUST CANNOT LEARN"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

39. "I'D DO BETTER IF THE TEACHER DID NOT GO SO FAST"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

40. "LUCK (<u>BUENA SUERTE</u>) IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WORK"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

41. "PEOPLE LIKE ME DON'T HAVE MUCH OF A CHANCE"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

42. "WHEN I TRY, SOMEBODY OR SOMETHING STOPS ME"

(1) true ___
(2) false ___

43. HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU GIVE TO HOMEWORK EVERYDAY?

(1) less than one hour ___
(2) one to three hours ___
(3) over three hours ___
(4) none at all ___

44. HAVE YOU EVER STUDIED IN SCHOOL THE HISTORY OF PUERTO RICO?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

45. DO YOU LIKE TO?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

46. DID YOU EVER DISCONTINUE SCHOOL AND COME BACK?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

47. WERE YOU AT TIMES READY TO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL?

(1) yes ___
(2) no ___

48. WHY? _____
_____
_____
_____

49. WHY DIDN'T YOU DROP OUT OF SCHOOL? _____
_____
_____
_____

50. WHAT ENGLISH COURSES HAVE YOU TAKEN?

(1) Basic ___
(2) Essential ___
(3) Regular ___
(4) Honors ___

51. DO YOU HAVE OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT WHILE IN SCHOOL?

(1) None ___
(2) less than 20 hours per week ___
(3) between 20 and 40 hours per week ___
(4) full time ___

52. ARE YOU ATTENDING ANY OF THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMS WHILE IN SCHOOL?

(1) CWT ___
(2) ICE ___
(3) OO ___
(4) DE ___
(5) Other work-study ___
(6) None of these ___

APPENDIX F

CUE Puerto Rican Study
Professional's Questionnaire

We are conducting a study on Puerto Rican school dropouts in Chicago and are asking for your help in answering these questions. You need not sign the questionnaire. As this is an opinion survey, we are interested in your opinions and impressions. Please mark only one answer to a question unless otherwise instructed. Please return the completed questionnaire in the enclosed envelope. Thank you for your time and interest.

Isidro Lucas, Ph.D.
Project Director

Remember, it is your opinions that are desired. Be sure to mark only one answer to a question unless instructed otherwise.

1. What is your job?

(1) Classroom teacher___
(2) Counselor ___
(3) School administrator ___
(4) Social or community worker ___

2. How much Spanish do you know?

(1) None or almost none ___
(2) I can speak some, but need an interpreter to talk to people who speak only Spanish. ___
(3) I speak Spanish fluently ___
(4) Spanish is my native tongue ___

3. About what percent of Puerto Ricans drop out of school before completing high school?

(1) Fewer than 25%___
(2) 26% - 50% ___
(3) 51% - 75% ___
(4) More than 75% ___

4. Are there more or fewer Puerto Rican than white dropouts?

(1) More ___
(2) About the same___
(3) Fewer ___

5. Are there more or fewer Puerto Rican than black dropouts?

(1) More ___
(2) About the same___
(3) Fewer ___

6. The average Puerto Rican parent attends about what percent of school activities planned for parents?

(1) More than 75% ___
(2) 51% - 75% ___
(3) 31% - 50% ___
(4) 10% - 30% ___
(5) Fewer than 10%___

7. How often does the average Puerto Rican parent keep in touch with the school?

(1) Constantly ___
(2) Occasionally___
(3) Rarely ___
(4) Never ___

8. At what point do most Puerto Rican dropouts leave school?

(1) During grammar school___
(2) At the end of 8th grade ___
(3) During 9th grade ___
(4) During 10th grade ___
(5) During 11th grade ___
(6) During 12th grade ___

9. Which of the following would be most likely to help keep Puerto Rican students in school? (Answer (6) also if applicable)

(1) Better physical facilities ___
(2) More work-training programs ___
(3) More athletic activities ___
(4) More Spanish-speaking teachers ___
(5) No school programs will help keep them in school ___
(6) Additional suggestions

_____

_____

_____

(continue to next page)

Questions 10-24 listed below are several commonly heard statements pertaining to the Puerto Rican dropout problem. Please indicate the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement using the scale provided. In each statement "they" refers to Puerto Rican student dropouts.

SCALE

(SA) Strongly agree
(A) Agree
(0) Have insufficient basis for decision
(D) Disagree
(SD) Strongly disagree

		CHECK ONE FOR EACH STATEMENT				
10.	They are pushed out.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
11.	They need the money.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
12.	They are "problem" students.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
13.	Their families take them out.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
14.	They quit to go to work.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
15.	They are lazy.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
16.	The girls most often get married.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
17.	They are forced out by gangs.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
18.	They have a language problem.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
19.	They lack ambition.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
20.	They are not intelligent.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
21.	Their problems start in kindergarten.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
22.	There are substantial differences, other than language, between Puerto Rican and other students.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
23.	Most of the dropouts are just out temporarily and will finish either at night or in continuation school.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)
24.	More specially designed programs are needed to keep the Puerto Rican students in school.	(SA)	(A)	(0)	(D)	(SD)